

Walsingham's Manual,

h . O R, *Instructions*

PRUDENTIAL MAXIMS

F O R

Statesmen and Courtiers :

W I T H

INSTRUCTIONS for *Youth,*
Gentlemen and Noblemen.

By *Sir* WALTER RALEIGH,
Lord Treasurer BURLEIGH, and
Cardinal SERMONETTA.

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. MEARS, F. CLAY, and
D. BROWNE, without *Temple-Bar.*

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(Price 2 s. 6 d.)

Walsingham's Manual,

OR,

PRUDENTIAL MAXIMS

FOR

Statesmen and Courtiers:

WITH

INSTRUCTIONS for Young

Gentlemen and Noblemen.



By Sir Walter Raleigh,
Lord Treasurer of the Kingdom,
and
Cavalier Sermonist.

The Second Edition.

LONDON.

Printed for W. Mears, T. Clay, and
D. Brown, without Temple-Bar.
MDCCLXXIII.
(Printed and sold by)

TO THE
READER,

IT has been the general Complaint of Men of Wisdom and Prudence, That nothing was more wanted in this Nation, than Rules and Instructions for the Conduct of humane Life. To which End, I have been encouraged, by Persons of good Understanding, to furnish you with the four following Tracts, some of which have long since appear'd in Print: The first is Sir Walter Raleigh's, a Piece allow'd excellent in its Kind, and from

a Masterly Hand, that had tried and undergone great Variety, and the Extreame of Fortune. The Second is my Lord Burleigh's Advice to his Son, an able Minister, whose admirable Sense, Closeness and Clearness of Stile, wise and judicious Observations, are not to be match'd in this, or any precedent Age. The Third is, a Cardinal's Advice to his Nephew, upon his first going into the Service of his Prince. The Remarks are uncommon and curious, as to Persons, Countries, States and Revenues; and a clear Proof of the great Experience and deep Penetration of the Noble Author. The Fourth is Walsingham's Manual, which Crowns all, and is thought to be
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To the Reader.

V.

the Performance of some unfortunate Spanish Minister in his Retirement; and we are indebted to Mr. Walsingham (whose Name it bears) for the Excellent and Masterly Translation which he has given us of it. Mr. Walsingham was Secretary to the Famous Lord Digby, in King Charles the First's Time; whose Father, the Earl of Bristol, succeeding the Duke of Buckingham in his Embassy in Spain, in all Probability Purchased this incomparable Piece in Manuscript; from whose Study Mr. Walsingham is thought to have obliged the Publick with it; and it deservedly wears his Name, (for it never as yet has had any other) all the Foreign

vj. To the Reader.

Translations in Latin, French and Italian, being extream Imperfect, Obscure and Faulty. These Tracts are highly to be valued as coming from the Pens, not of Schollars and Persons famous for Learned and Refined Notions, but of great Genius's; whose Parts and Abilities advanc'd them to the Stations and Greatness they gloriously attained, and whose Experience entitles them to dictate with an undoubted and almost Divine Authority to Mankind. Nay, I will be so bold as to venture to say, that no Nation in Europe has so many Books Printed together, that answer so well, and in such variety the Ends of Humane Conduct as this Collection.

Sir Walter Raleigh's
INSTRUCTIONS
TO HIS
S O N,
AND TO
POSTERITY.

Sir Walter Raleigh's
INSTRUCTIONS
TO HIS
SON
AND TO
POSTERITY.

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Sir Walter Raleigh
To His S O N.

CHAP. I.

*Virtuous Persons to be made choice
 of for Friends.*

THERE is nothing more becoming any wise Man, than to make choice of Friends; for by them thou shalt be judged what thou art: Let them therefore be Wise and Virtuous, and none of those that follow thee for Gain: but make Election rather of thy Betters, than thy Inferiors; shunning

A 5

ning always such as are Poor and Needy: For if thou givest twenty Gifts, and refuse to do the like but once, all that thou hast done will be lost, and such Men will become thy mortal Enemies: Take also special Care that thou never trust any Friend or Servant with any Matter that may endanger thy Estate; for so shalt thou make thy self a Bond-slave to him that thou trustest, and leave thy self always to his Mercy. And be sure of this, thou shalt never find a Friend in thy young Years, whose Conditions and Qualities will please thee after thou comest to more discretion and judgment; and then all thou givest is lost, and all wherein thou shalt trust such a one will be discover'd. Such therefore as are thy Inferiors, will follow thee but to eat thee out; and when thou leavest to feed them, they will hate thee; and such kind of Men, if thou preserve thy Estate, will always be had: And if thy Friends be of better
Quality

Quality than thy self, thou mayst be sure of two Things: The First, That they will be more careful to keep thy Counsel, because they have more to lose than thou hast: The Second, They will esteem thee for thy self, and not for that which thou doest possess; but if thou be subject to any great Vanity or Ill (from which I hope God will bless thee) then therein trust no Man; for every Man's Folly ought to be his greatest Secret. And altho' I perswade thee to associate thy self with thy Betters, or at least with thy Peers; yet remember always that thou venture not thy Estate with any of those great Ones that shall attempt unlawful Things; for such Men labour for themselves and not for thee; thou shalt be sure to part with them in the Danger, but not the Honour; and to venture a sure Estate in present, in hope of a better in future, is meer Madness: And great Men forget such as have done them Service, when they have obtained

obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a Mean of their Advancement, then acknowledge it.

I could give thee a thousand Examples, and I my self know it, and have tasted it in all the Course of my Life. When thou shalt read and observe the Stories of all Nations, thou shalt find innumerable Examples of the like: Let thy Love therefore be to the Best, so long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy Country, thy Prince, and thine own Estate, before all others: For the Fancies of Men change, and he that loves to Day, hateth to Morrow; but let Reason be thy School-Mistress, which shall ever guide thee aright.

CHAP. II.

Great Care to be had in the chusing of a Wife.

TH E next and greatest Care ought to be in the choice of a Wife, and the onely Danger therein, is Beauty, by which all Men in all Ages, Wise and Foolish, have been betrayed. And tho' I know it vain to use Reasons or Arguments to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever resisted that Witchery; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other Things, which may be thy Ruin and Destruction. For the present Time, it is true, that every Man prefers his Fancy in that Appetite, before all other worldly Desires, leaving the Care of Honour, Credit, and Safety in respect thereof: But remember, that
tho'

tho' these Affections do not last, yet the Bond of Marriage dureth to the End of thy Life; and therefore better to be born withal in a Mistres, than in a Wife; for when thy Humour shall change, thou art yet free to chuse again (if thou give thy self that vain Liberty.) Remember, secondly, That if thou marry for Beauty, thou bindest thy self all thy Life for that, which perchance will neither last nor please thee one Year; and when thou hast it, it will be to thee of no Price at all, for the Degree dieth when it is attained, and the Affection perisheth, when it is satisfied. Remember, when thou wert a sucking Child, that then thou didst love thy Nurse, and that thou wert fond of her; after a while thou didst love thy Dry-Nurse, and didst forget the other, after that thou didst also despise her; so will it be with thee in thy liking in elder Years; and therefore, tho' thou canst not forbear to love, yet forbear to link; and after a while

while thou shalt find an Alteration in thy self, and see another far more pleasing than the first, second, or third Love; yet I wish thee above all the rest, have a care thou dost not marry an uncomely Woman for any respect; for Comeliness in Children is Riches, if nothing else be left them. And if thou have a care for thy Races of Horses, and other Beasts, value the Shape and Comeliness of thy Children, before Alliances or Riches: Have a care therefore of both together; for if thou have a fair Wife and a poor one, if thine own Estate be not great, assure thy self that Love abideth not with Want; for she is thy Companion of Plenty and Honour; for I never yet knew a poor Woman exceeding fair, that was not made dishonest by one or other in the End. This *Bathsheba* taught her Son *Solomon*; *Favour is deceitful, and Beauty is Vanity*: She saith further, *That a wise Woman overseeth the Ways of her Household, and eateth not the Bread, of Idleness.* Have

Have therefore ever more care, that thou be beloved of thy Wife, rather than thy self besotted on her; and thou shalt judge of her Love by these two Observations: First, If thou perceive she have a care of thy Estate, and exercise her self therein; the other, If she study to please thee, and be sweet unto thee in Conversation, without thy Instruction; for Love needs no teaching nor Precept. On the other Side, be not sowe or stern to thy Wife, for Cruelty engendreth no other thing than Hatred: Let her have equal Part of thy Estate whilst thou livest, if thou find her sparing and honest; but what thou givest after thy Death, remember that thou givest it to a Stranger, and most times to an Enemy: for he that shall marry thy Wife, will despise thee, thy Memory, and thine, and shall possess the Quiet of thy Labours, the Fruit which thou hast planted, enjoy thy Love, and spend with Joy and Ease what thou hast spared
and

and gotten with Care and Travail :
Yet always remember, that thou leave
not thy Wife to be a Shame unto thee
after thou art dead, but that she may
live according to thy Estate ; especially
if thou hast few Children, and them
provided for. But howsoever it be, or
whatsoever thou find, leave thy Wife
no more than of Necessity thou must,
but only during her Widowhood ; for
if she love again, let her not enjoy her se-
cond Love in the same Bed wherein she
loved thee, nor fly to future Pleasures
with those Feathers which Death hath
pulled from thy Wings ; but leave
thy Estate to thy House and Children,
in which thou livest upon Earth, whilst
it lasteth. To conclude, Wives were or-
dained to continue the Generation of
Men, not to transfer them, and di-
minish them, either in Continuance or
Ability ; and therefore thy House and
Estate, which liveth in thy Son, and
not in thy Wife, is to be preferred.
Let thy Time of Marriage be in thy
young

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young and strong Years ; for believe it, ever the young Wife betrayeth the old Husband, and she that had thee not in thy Flower, will despise thee in thy Fall, and thou shalt be unto her but a Captivity and Sorrow. Thy best Time will be towards Thirty, for as the younger Times are unfit, either to chuse or to govern a Wife and Family; so if thou stay long, thou shalt hardly see the Education of thy Children, which being left to Strangers, are in effect lost, and better were it to be unborn, than ill-bred; for thereby thy Posterity shall either perish, or remain a Shame to thy Name and Family. Furthermore, if it be late e'er thou take a Wife, thou shalt spend the Prime and Summer of thy Life with Harlots, destroy thy Health, impoverish thy Estate, and endanger thy Life; and be sure of this, that how many Mistresses soever thou hast, so many Enemies thou shalt purchase to thy self; for there never was any such Affection,

Affection, which ended not in Hatred or Disdain. Remember the Saying of Solomon, *There is a Way which seemeth right to a Man, but the Issues thereof are the Wages of Death*; for howsoever a lewd Woman please thee for a Time, thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will study to destroy thee. If thou canst not abstain from them in thy vain and unbridled Times, yet remember that thou sowest on the Sands, and dost mingle the vital Blood with Corruption, and purchasest Diseases, Repentance, and Hatred only. Bestow therefore thy Youth so, that thou mayest have Comfort to remember it, when it hath forsaken thee, and not sigh and grieve at the Account thereof: Whilst thou art young, thou wilt think it will never have an End; but behold, the longest Day hath his Evening, and that thou shalt enjoy it but once, that it never turns again; use it therefore as the Spring-time, which soon departeth, and wherein thou oughtest

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oughtest to plant, and sow all Provisions for a long and happy Life.

C H A P. III.

*Wiseſt Men have been abuſed by
Flatterers.*

TAKE care thou be not made a Fool by Flatterers; for even the wiſeſt Men are abuſed by theſe. Know therefore, that Flatterers are the worſt kind of Traitors; for they will ſtrengthen thy Imperfections, encourage thee in all Evils, correct thee in nothing, but ſo ſhadow and paint all thy Vices and Follies, as thou ſhalt never, by their Will, diſcern Evil from Good, or Vice from Virtue. And becauſe all Men are apt to flatter themſelves; to entertain the Additions of other Mens Praises, is moſt perilous. Do not therefore praise thy ſelf, except thou wilt
be

be counted a vain-glorious Fool; neither take Delight in the Praises of other Men, except thou deserve it, and receive it from such as are worthy and honest, and will withal warn thee of thy Faults; for Flatterers have never any Virtue, they are ever base, creeping, cowardly Persons. A Flatterer is said to be a Beast that biteth smiling; it is said by *Isaiab* in this manner, *My People, they that praise thee seduce thee, and disorder the Paths of thy Feet*; and *David* desired God to cut out the Tongue of a Flatterer: But it is hard to know them from Friends, they are so obsequious and full of Protestations; for as a *Wolf* resembles a *Dog*, so doth a Flatterer a Friend. A Flatterer is compared to an *Ape*, who because she cannot defend the House like a *Dog*, labour as an Ox, or bear Burdens as a Horse, doth therefore yet play Tricks, and provoke Laughter: Thou mayest be sure that he that will in private tell thee thy Faults,

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Faults, is thy Friend, for he adventures thy Mislike, and doth hazard thy Hatred; for there are few Men that can endure it, every Man for the most part delighting in Self-praise, which is one of the most universal Follies which bewitcheth Mankind.

CHAP. IV.

Private Quarrels to be avoided.

BE careful to avoid publick Disputations at Feasts, or at Tables, among cholerick or quarrelsome Persons; and eschew evermore to be acquainted or familiar with Ruffians, for thou shalt be in as much Danger in contending with a Brawler in a private Quarrel, as in a Battle, wherein thou mayest get Honour to thy self, and Safety to thy Prince and Country; but if thou be once engaged, carry thy self

self bravely, that they may fear thee after. To shun therefore private Fights, be well advised in thy Words and Behaviour; for Honour and Shame is in the Talk, and the Tongue of a Man causeth him to fall.

Jest not openly at those that are simple, but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiser. Defame not any Woman publicly, though thou know her to be evil; for those that are faulty cannot endure to be taxed, but will seek to be avenged of thee, and those that are not guilty, cannot endure unjust Reproach. And as there is nothing more shameful and dishonest, than to do wrong, so Truth it self cutteth his Throat that carrieth her publicly in every Place. Remember the Divine Saying, *He that keepeth his Mouth, keepeth his Life.* Do therefore Right to all Men where it may profit them, and thou shalt thereby get much Love, and forbear to speak evil Things of Men,

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Men, tho' they be true (if thou be not constrained) and thereby thou shalt avoid Malice and Revenge.

Do not accuse any Man of any Crime, if it be not to save thy self, thy Prince, or Country; for there is nothing more dishonourable (next to Treason it self) than to be an Accuser. Notwithstanding, I would not have thee for any Respect loose thy Reputation, or endure publick Disgrace; for better it were not to live, than to live a Coward, if the Offence proceed not from thy self; if it do, it shall be better to compound it upon good Terms, than to hazard thy self; for if thou overcome, thou art under the Cruelty of the Law; if thou art overcome, thou art dead or dishonoured. If thou therefore contend, or discourse in Argument, let it be with wise and sober Men, of whom thou mayest learn by reasoning, and not with ignorant Persons, for thou shalt thereby instruct those that will not thank thee, and

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utter what they have learned from thee, for their own. But if thou know more than other Men, utter it when it may do thee Honour, and not in Assemblies of ignorant and common Persons.

Speaking much also is a Sign of Vanity; for he that is lavish in Words, is a Niggard in Deeds; and as *Solomon* saith, *The Mouth of a wise Man is in his Heart; the Heart of a Fool is in his Mouth, because what he knoweth or thinketh, he uttereth*: And by thy Words and Discourses, Men will judge thee. For, as *Socrates* saith, *Such as thy Words are, such will thy Affections be esteemed, and such will thy Deeds as thy Affections, and such thy Life as thy Deeds*: Therefore be advised what thou dost discourse of, what thou maintainest; whether touching Religion, State, or Vanity; for if thou err in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane; if in the second, dangerous; if in the third, indiscreet

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and foolish: He that cannot refrain from much Speaking, is like a City without Walls, and less Pains in the World a Man cannot take, than to hold his Tongue; therefore, if thou observest this Rule in all Assemblies, thou shalt seldom err; restrain thy Choler, hearken much, and speak little; for the Tongue is the Instrument of the greatest Good and greatest Evil that is done in the World.

According to *Solomon*, *Life and Death are in the Power of the Tongue*; and as *Euripides* truly affirmeth: *Every unbridled Tongue in the end shall find it self unfortunate*; for in all that ever I observed in the Course of worldly Things, I ever found that Mens Fortunes are oftner made by their Tongues than by their Vertues, and more Mens Fortunes overthrown thereby also, than by their Vices. And to conclude, All Quarrels, Mischief, Hatred, and Destruction, ariseth from unadvised Speech, and in much Speech

Speech there are many Errors, out of which thy Enemies shall ever take the most dangerous Advantage. And as thou shalt be happy, if thou thy self observe these Things, so shall it be most profitable for thee to avoid their Companies that err in that Kind, and not to hearken to Tale-bearers, to inquisitive Persons, and such as busie themselves with other Mens Estates, that creep into Houses as Spies, to learn News which concerns them not; for assure thy self such Persons are most base and unworthy, and I never knew any of them prosper, or respected amongst worthy or wise Men.

Take heed also that thou be not found a Lyar; for a lying Spirit is hateful both to God and Man. A Liar is commonly a Coward; for he dares not avow Truth. A Liar is trusted of no Man, he can have no Credit, neither in publick nor private; and if there were no more Arguments than this, know that our Lord in St.

28 Sir Walter Raleigh

John saith, *That it is a Vice proper to Satan*, Lying being opposite to the Nature of God, which consisteth in Truth, and the Gain of Lying is nothing else, but not to be trusted of any, nor to be believed when we say the Truth. It is said in the *Proverbs*, *That God hateth false Lips, and he that speaketh Lies shall perish*. Thus thou mayest see and find in all the Books of God, how odious and contrary to God a Lyar is; and for the World, believe it, that it never did any Man good (except in the Extremity of saving Life) for a Lyar is of a base, unworthy, and cowardly Spirit.

CHAP.

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C H A P. V.

*Three Rules to be observed for
the Preservation of a Man's
Estate.*

AMongst all other Things of the World, take care of thy Estate, which thou shalt ever preserve, if thou observe three Things: First, That thou know what thou hast, what every Thing is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy Servants and Officers. The second is, That thou never spend any Thing, before thou have it; for borrowing is the Canker and Death of every Man's Estate. The third is, That thou suffer not thy self to be wounded for other Mens Faults, and scourged for other Mens Offences; which is, the Surety for another; for thereby Mil-

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lions of Men have been beggared and
 destroyed, paying the Reckoning of o-
 ther Mens Riot, and the Charge of o-
 ther Mens Folly and Prodigality; if
 thou smart, smart for thine own Sins,
 and above all Things be not made an
 Ass to carry the Burdens of other Men:
 If any Friend desire thee to be his
 Surety, give him a part of what thou
 hast to spare; if he press thee farther,
 he is not thy Friend at all, for Friend-
 ship rather chooseth Harm to it self,
 than offereth it: If thou be bound for
 a Stranger, thou art a Fool; if for a
 Merchant, thou puttest thy Estate to
 learn to swim; if for a Church-man,
 he hath no Inheritance; if for a
 Lawyer, he will find an Evasion by a
 Syllable or Word, to abuse thee; if
 for a poor Man, thou must pay it thy
 self; if for a rich Man, it need not:
 Therefore from Suretiship, as from a
 Man-slayer, or Enchanter, bless thy
 self; for the best Profit and Return will
 be this, that if thou force him for
 whom

whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy Enemy, if thou use to pay it thy self, thou wilt be a Beggar; and believe thy Father in this, and print it in thy Thought, that what Vertue soever thou hast, be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy Qualities shall be despised: Besides, Poverty is oft-times sent as a Curse of God, it is a Shame amongst Men, an Imprisonment of the Mind, a Vexation of every worthy Spirit; thou shalt neither help thy self nor others; thou shalt drown thee in all thy Vertues, having no Means to shew them; thou shalt be a Burthen and an Eye-sore to thy Friends; every Man will fear thy Company, thou shalt be driven basely to beg, and depend on others, to flatter unworthy Men, to make dishonest Shifts; and to conclude, Poverty provokes a Man to do infamous and detested Deeds: Let no Vanity therefore, or Perswasion, draw thee to that worst of worldly Miseries. If

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If thou be rich, it will give thee Pleasure in Health, Comfort in Sickness; keep thy Mind and Body free, save thee from many Perils, relieve thee in thy elder Years, relieve the Poor, and thy honest Friends, and give Means to thy Posterity to live, and defend themselves, and thine own Fame, where it is said in the *Proverbs*, *That he shall be sore vexed, that is Surety for a Stranger; and he that hateth Suretiship, is sure.* It is further said, *The Poor is hated even of his own Neighbour, but the Rich have many Friends.* Lend not to him that is mightier than thy self, for if thou lendest him, count it but lost; be not Surety above thy Power, for if thou be Surety, think to pay it.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

*What Sort of Servants are fittest
to be entertained.*

LET thy Servants be such as thou mayest command; and entertain none about thee but Yeomen, to whom thou givest Wages; for those that will serve thee without thy Hire, will cost thee trebble as much as they that know thy Fare. If thou trust any Servant with thy Purse, be sure thou take his Account e'er thou sleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterwards, for Tedioufness, neglect it. I my self have thereby lost more than I am worth. And whatsoever thy Servant gaineth thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy Simplicity to scorn; and besides, 'tis the Way to

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make

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make thy Servants Thieves, which
else would be honest.

C H A P. VII.

*Brave Rags wear soonest out of
Fashion.*

EXceed not in the Humour of Rags
and Bravery, for these will soon
wear out of Fashion; but Money in
thy Purse will ever be in Fashion;
and no Man is esteemed for gay Gar-
ments, but by Fools and Women.

C H A P. VIII.

*Riches not to be sought by evil
Means.*

ON the other Side, take heed that
thou seek not Riches basely,
nor attain them by evil Means; de-
stroy

stroy no Man for his Wealth, nor take any thing from the Poor; for the Cry and Complaint thereof will pierce the Heavens. And it is most detestable before God, and most dishonourable before worthy Men, to wrest any thing from the needy and labouring Soul; God will never prosper thee in ought, if thou offend therein: But use thy poor Neighbours and Tenants well; pine not them and their Children, to add Superfluity and needless Expences to thy self. He that hath Pity on another Man's Sorrow, shall be free from it himself; and he that delighteth in, and scorneth the Misery of another, shall one time or another fall into it himself. Remember this Precept, *He that hath Mercy on the Poor, lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompence him what he hath given.* I do not understand those for Poor, which are Vagabonds and Beggars, but those that labour to live, such as are old and cannot travel; such poor Widows and
Fatherless

Fatherless Children, as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor Tenants that travel to pay their Rents, and are driven to Poverty by Mischance, and not by Riot or careless Expences; on such have thou Compassion, and God will bless thee for it. Make not the hungry Soul sorrowful, defer not thy Gift to the Needy, for if he curse thee in the Bitterness of his Soul, his Prayer shall be heard of him that made him.

C H A P. IX.

What Inconveniencies happen to such as delight in Wine.

TAke especial Care that thou delight not in Wine, for there never was any Man that came to Honour or Preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a Man into a Beast, decayeth Health, poisoneth the Breath, destroyeth

destroyeth natural Heat, brings a Man's Stomach to an artificial Heat, deformeth the Face; rotteth the Teeth; and to conclude, maketh a Man contemptible, soon old, and despised of all wise and worthy Men; hated in thy Servants, in thy self and Companions; for it is a bewitching and infectious Vice: and remember my Words, that it were better for a Man to be subject to any Vice, than to it, for all other Vanities and Sins are recovered, but a Drunkard will never shake off the Delight of Beastliness; for the longer it possesseth a Man, the more he will delight in it, and the elder he groweth, the more he shall be subject to it; for it dulleth the Spirits, and destroyeth the Body, as Ivy doth the old Tree, or as the Worm that engendereth in the Kernel of the Nut.

Take heed therefore that such a cureless Canker pass not thy Youth, nor such a beastly Infection thy old Age; for then shall all thy Life be but

as

as the Life of a Beast, and after thy Death, thou shalt only leave a shameful Infamy to thy Posterity, who shall study to forget that such a one was their Father. *Anacharsis* saith, *The first Draught serveth for Health, the second for Pleasure, the third for Shame, the fourth for Madnes,* but in Youth there is not so much as one Draught permitted; for it putteth Fire to Fire, and wasteth the natural Heat and Seed of Generation. And therefore, except thou desire to hasten thine End, take this for a general Rule, That thou never add any Artificial Heat to thy Body by Wine or Spice, until thou find that Time hath decayed thy natural Heat, and the sooner thou beginnest to help Nature, the sooner she will forsake thee, and trust altogether to Art. *Who have Misfortune, saith Solomon, who have Sorrow and Grief, who have Trouble without Fighting, Stripes without Cause, and Faintness of Eyes? Even they that sit at Wine, and strain them-*

themselves to empty Cups: Pliny saith, Wine maketh the Hand quivering, the Eye watery, the Night unquiet, lewd Dreams, a stinking Breath in the Morning, and an utter Forgetfulness of all Things.

Whosoever loveth Wine, shall not be trusted of any Man, for he cannot keep a Secret. Wine maketh Man not only a Beast, but a mad Man; and if thou love it, thy own Wife, thy Children, and thy Friends will despise thee. In Drink, Men care not what they say, what Offence they give, they forget Comeliness, commit Disorders; and to conclude, offend all vertuous and honest Company, and God most of all, to whom we daily pray for Health, and Life free from Pain; and yet by Drunkenness and Gluttony, (which is the Drunkenness of Feeding) we draw on, saith *Hesiod*, a swift, hasty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous old Age. And St. *Augustine* describeth Drunkenness in this manner:

ner: *Ebrietas est blandus Dæmon, dulce venenum, suave peccatum: quam, qui habet, seipsum non habet, quam qui facit, peccatum non facit, sed ipse est peccatum.*

Drunkennes is a flattering Devil, a sweet Poison, a pleasant Sin; which whosoever hath, hath not himself, which whosoever doth commit, doth not commit Sin, but he himself is wholly Sin.

Innocentius saith, Quid turpius ebrioso, cui fætor in ore, tremor in corpore, qui promit stulta, prodit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies transformatur? Nullum secretum ubi regnat ebrietas, & quid non aliud designat malum? Fœcundi calices quem non fecere disertum?

What is filthier then a drunken Man, to whom there is Stink in the Mouth, trembling in the Body; which uttereth foolish Things, and revealeth secret Things; whose Mind is alienate, and Face transformed. There is no Secresie where Drunkennes rules; nay
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what other Mischief doth it not design? Whom have not plentiful Cups made eloquent and talking?

When **DIOGENES** saw a House to be sold, whereof the Owner was given to drink, I thought at the last, quoth *Diogenes*, he would spue out a whole House; *Sciebam inquit, quod domum tandem emoveret.*

CHAP. X.

Let God be thy Protector and Director in all thy Actions.

NOW for the World, I know it too well, to perswade thee to dive into the Practices thereof, rather stand upon thine own Guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practice upon thee in thy Conscience, thy Reputation, or thy Purse; resolve that no Man is wise or safe, but he that is honest.

Serve

42 Sir Walter Raleigh, &c.

Serve God, let him be the Author of all thy Actions, commend all thy Endeavours to him that must either wither or prosper them; please him with Prayer, least if he frown, he confound all thy Fortunes and Labours, like the Drops of Rain on the sandy Ground: Let my experienced Advice, and fatherly Instructions, sink deep into thy Heart. So God direct thee in all his Ways, and fill thy Heart with his Grace.

CHAP. X.

Let God be thy Protector and Director in all thy Actions.

Now for the World, I know too well, to perfwade thee to give into the Practices thereof, rather than upon thine own Guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practice upon thee in thy Conscience, thy Reputation or thy Peace. For no Man is wife or safe, but he that is honest.

THE
Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh's*

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TO HIS

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J. Old-Treasure Brocigs
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Son ROBERT,

THE vertuous Inclination of thy matchless Mother, by whose tender and godly Care thy Infancy was govern'd, together with thy late Education under so zealous and excellent a Tutor, put me rather in Assurance than Hope, that thou art not ignorant of the *Summum Bonum*, which is only able to make thee happy as well in thy Death as in thy Life; I mean the true Knowledge and Worship of thy Creator and Redeemer, without which all other Things are vain and miserable; so that thy Youth being guided by so All-sufficient a Tutor, I make no doubt but he will furnish thy Life both with Moral and Divine Documents; yet that I may not cease of the Care be-
seeming a Parent towards his Child,
or

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or that thou shouldest have Cause to derive thy whole Felicity and Welfare rather from others then from whom thou receivest thy Birth and Being; I think it fit and agreeable to the Affection I bear thee, to help thee with such Advertisements and Rules for the squaring of thy Life, as are gained rather by long Experience than Reading; to the end, that thou entering into this exorbitant Age, mayest be the better prepared to shun those cautelous Courses, whereunto the World, and the lack of Experience, may draw thee: And because I would not confound thy Memory, I have reduced them into Ten Parts, and next unto *Moses's* Tables, if thou imprint them in thy Mind, thou shalt reap the Benefit, and I the Contentment, and these they are:

I. When it shall please God to bring thee to Man's Estate, use great Providence and Circumspection in the Choice of thy Wife, for from thence will
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spring all thy future Good or Ill; and it is an Action, like a Stratagem of War, wherein a Man can never err but once. If thy Estate be good, match near Home, and at Leisure; if weak, far off, and quickly: Enquire diligently of her Disposition, and how her Parents have been enclined in their Youth: Let her not be poor, how generous soever, for a Man can buy nothing in the Market with Gentility; nor choose a base and uncomely Creature altogether for Wealth; for it will cause Contempt in others, and Loathing in thee: Neither make Choice of a Dwarf or a Fool, for by the one thou shalt beget a Race of Pigmies, the other will be thy daily Disgrace; and it will irk thee to hear her talk, and thou shalt find to thy Grief, that there is nothing more fulsome than a She Fool: And touching the Government of thy House, let thy Hospitality be moderate, and according to the measure of thy Estate, rather plentiful
than

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than sparing, but not costly; for I never knew any grow poor by keeping an orderly Table, but some consume themselves thro' secret Vices, and then Hospitality bears the Blame; but banish swinish Drunkenness out of thy House, which is a Vice, impaireth Health, consumeth much, and maketh no Shew; and I never heard Praise ascribed to a Drinker, but the well-bearing of his Liquor, which is a better Commendation for a Brewer's Horse, or a Carman, than either for a Gentleman or a Serving-Man: And beware thou spend not above three of the four Parts of thy Living, nor above a third part of that in thy House, for the other two Parts will do no more than defray thy Extraordinaries, which will always surmount thy Ordinaries by far; otherwise thou shalt live like a rich Beggar, in continual Want; and the needy Man can never live happy nor contented, for every the least Disaster makes him ready to mortgage or sell, and that
Gentleman

Gentleman that sells an Acre of Land, sells an Ounce of Credit, for Gentility is nothing but ancient Riches; so that if the Foundation shrink, the Building must needs follow.

II. Bring thy Children up in Learning and Obedience, yet without Austerity; praise them openly, reprehend them secretly, give them a good Countenance and sufficient Maintenance, according to thy Ability, otherwise thy Life will seem their Bondage, and what Portion thou shalt leave them at thy Death, they will thank Death for it, and not thee; and I am perswaded, that the foolish Cockering of some Parents, and the over stern Carriage of others, causeth more Men and Women to take ill Courses than their own natural Inclinations. Marry thy Daughters in Time, least they marry themselves: And suffer not thy Sons to pass the *Alpes*, for they shall learn nothing there but Pride, Blasphemy,

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50 *Lord Treasurer Burleigh*

phemy and Atheism; and if by Travelling they get a few broken Languages, that will profit them no more, than to have the same Meat served in divers Dishes: neither by my Consent, shalt thou train them up to the Wars, for he that sets up his Rest to live by that Profession, can hardly be an honest Man or a good Christian; for every War is of it self unjust, unless the Cause makes it just; besides, it is a Science no longer in Request than in Use, for Soldiers in Peace, are like Chimneys in Summer.

III. Live not in the Country without Corn and Cattle about thee, for he that puts his Hand to his Purse for every Expende of the Household, is like him that thinks to keep Water in a Sieve: And what Provision thou shalt want, lay to buy it at the best hand, for there is one Penny in four saved betwixt buying at thy need, and when the Markets and Seasons do serve fittest for it; and be

be not served with Kinsmen, Friends, or Men intreated to stay, for they will expect much, and do little; nor with such as are amorous, for their Heads are always intoxicated; and keep rather too few, than one too many; feed them well, and pay them with the most, and then thou mayest boldly require their Service and Duty.

IV. Let thy Kindred and thy Allies be welcome to thy Table, grace them with thy Countenance, and further them in all other honest Actions, for by this means thou shalt so double that Bond of Nature, as thou shalt find them so many Advocates to plead an Apology for thee behind thy Back: but shake off those Glow-worms, I mean those Parasites and Sycophants, who will feed and fawn upon thee in the Summer of thy Prosperity, but in any adverse Storm they will shelter thee no more than an Arbour in the Winter.

V. Beware of Suretiship for thy best Friends, for he that pays another Man's Debts, seeks his own Decay; but if thou can'st not do otherwise, chuse rather to lend thy Money thy self upon good Bonds, tho' thou borrow it, so shalt thou pleasure thy Friend, and secure thy self; neither borrow Money of a Friend, but of a meer Stranger, where paying for it, thou shalt hear of it no more, otherwise thou shalt eclipse thy Credit, lose thy Friend, and yet pay as dear as to another; but in borrowing Money, be precious of thy Word, for he that hath care to keep Days of Payment, is Lord over other Mens Goods.

VI. Undertake not a Suit against a poor Man, without receiving much Wrong, for besides thou makest him thy Competitor; it is a bare Conquest to triumph, where there is small Resistance; neither attempt Law against
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any Man, before thou be thoroughly resolved thou hast Right of thy Side, and then spare neither for Money nor Pains, for a Cause or two so followed and obtained, will free thee from Suits a great part of thy Life.

VII. Be sure to keep some Great Man thy Friend, but trouble him not with Trifles; complement him often; present him with many, yet small Gifts, and of little Charge; and if thou have Cause to bestow any great Gratuity, let it be some such thing as may be daily in his Sight, otherwise, in this ambitious Age, thou shalt remain like a Hop without a Pole, live in Obscurity, and be made a Foot-Ball for every insulting Companion to spurn at.

VIII. Towards thy Superiors be humble, yet generous; with thy Equals familiar, yet respectful; towards thy Inferiors shew much Humility, and some Familiarity, as to bow thy
C 3 Body,

54 *Lord Treasurer Burleigh*

Body, to stretch forth thy Hand, and uncover thy Head, and such like popular Complements; the first prepares Way for thy Advancement, the second makes thee known for a Man well bred; the third gains a good Report, which once gotten, is easily kept; for high Humility takes such deep Root in the Minds of the Multitude, as they are easier won by unprofitable Courtesies, than by churlish Benefits: yet I advise thee not to affect or neglect Popularity too much; seek not to be C—, and shun to be R—.

IX. Trust not any Man with thy Life, Credit, or Estate, for it is mere Folly for a Man to enthrall himself to his Friend, as that, Occasion being offered, he shall not dare to become his Enemy.

X. Be not scurrilous in thy Conversation, nor satirical in thy Jest; the one will make thee unwelcome to all

all Company, the other will pull on Quarrels, and get thee Hatred of thy best Friends; for sulphurous Jest, when they savour too much of Truth, leave a Bitterness in the Minds of those that are touch'd: and tho' I have already pointed at this inclusive, yet I think it necessary to leave it to thee as a special Caution, because I've seen many so prone to quip and gird, as they would rather lose their Friend than their Jest: And if by Chance their boiling Brains yield any quaint Scoff, they travail to be delivered of it, as a Woman with Child. These nimble Apprehensions are but the Froth of Wit.

There is an addition to these
See vol. 8405 a

THE

to his Son.

22
All Company, the other will pull on
Quarrels and are the Hated of my
best Friends. I have seen many when
they have too much of this, leave
a Bitterness in the Minds of those that
are touched; and tho' I have already
pointed at this Inclusive, yet I think it
necessary to leave it to them as a spe-
cial Caution, because I am too ready
to prone to drop and give as they
would rather lose their Friend than
their self. And if by Chance their
boiling Bristles yield any, against Scott,
they travel to be delivered of it as
a Woman with Child. These humble
Applications are but the fruit of

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THE
INSTRUCTIONS

OF

Cardinal SERMONETTA,

TO HIS

Cousin *Petro Caetano*,

At his first going into *Flanders*
to the Duke of *Parma*, to
serve PHILIP King of *Spain*.

THE
INSTRUCTIONS

O F
CARDINALS ERMONETTA,

TO HIS

Cousin Pietro Caetano,

As he has just going into Flanders
to the Duke of Parma, to
leave Philip King of Spain.

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THE
INSTRUCTIONS
OF

Cardinal SERMONETTA,
TO HIS
Cousin *Petro Caetano*, &c.

MOST Noble Lord, your
Lordship shall follow on
your Voyage with such Or-
ders and Advertisements as you have
already, and you shall write from eve-
ry Place, as hitherto you have done,
to the end that by every Post that
cometh to *Rome*, it may be known
where you arrive from Place to Place:
If between the Day of your Lordship's
Arrival

Arrival at the Camp, or wheresoever the Prince is, and the Dispatch of the next Messenger for the Parts of *Italy*, you can be more than once in the Company of the Paymaster of the Army, you shall endeavour to learn the State of this War, and what is done, and what is meant to be done for the King's Service.

For as by these means, in your first Letters you may give some Advertisements of Matters that pass in that Province; so you shall be a great Comfort to these most honourable Lords; and your Allegiance shall breed great Honour to your self. How be it, your Lordship must beware that you write not any thing, which in case your Letters should miscarry, might hurt either you, or any other. And in this manner I pray you proceed, until such time as some Cypher be appointed between us.

Let

Let it not grieve your Lordship to write, for it will profit you, and serve and satisfie their Turns whom it doth concern: Note briefly in a Leaf of Paper, such Things as you shall learn, or come into your Mind to write, or make a Remembrance of them. When you write, set that Leaf before you, and when you have written your Letters, deface your Note.

Make also a List of their Names to whom you write from Time to Time; for so you shall not incur the want of Memory. In your Letters, which are to be shewed unto others, insert no Matter or Advise, or any other thing that may not be shewed. Your Letters, that contain divers Matters, write distinctly in several Branches or Heads, and do not make your Writing a continued Draught. Keep Copies of such Letters as seem to be of Importance: Keep your Letters by you when they are written, and never close them till the Post hath his Dispatch;

Dispatch; for so you shall not be cloyed with too much Matter; and besides, you may add if need be.

If you write many Letters to one Man, which are to be read in order, mark them in the Endorsment thus, 1^a, 2^a, 3^a, &c. and so let them be tied up orderly in the Packet.

Your Lordship must answer Letters, and satisfy every Man; except no Person, altho' he be a Man of no Account.

Read, and read again the Letters more than once which you shall receive; mark the Words, and such things as are to be noted in them; lay them before you when you answer them; read them over again, and trust not your Memory.

Keep Letters of Importance, for at some time or other they may serve either for Justification, or for a Warning: Burn those that cannot be kept without Danger.

There

There shall be sent to your Lordship a Cypher, with the Declarations thereof, and the Points to be observed therein, to the end you may write ever with Security.

Get the Familiarity and Good-will of the Postmaster, by making much of him, and sometimes presenting him with somewhat; for you shall have great Use of him, and particularly you shall be partaker of divers Advertisements that come from many Countries, and shall be one of the first that shall know them: He will give you Intelligence daily when there is any Dispatch; his Packets will carry Credit, and so your Letters shall have safe and speedy Delivery.

Your Father, at your Lordship's going into *Flanders*, did write to the King's Majesty, and his Letter was to this effect: That now it is thirteen Years ago since he dedicated his Service to his Majesty, with a purpose to purchase of him the Name and Desert of

a Servant, for that till then he could not serve him but only in very small Matters. That every Day he did feel more and more the Sting of Devotion and Duty. That to supply the Defect of fit Occasions, he did send *Peter* his eldest Son into *Flanders*, to the end he should serve his Majesty in that War, under the Order and Obedience of the Prince, the Governor of those Provinces. That above all things he desireth, to his Good-will, and his Sons, there want no Occasion to Fortune, beseeching his Majesty to vouchsafe the Admittance of this his Resolution, which though it never avail any other, yet it shall at the least make manifest, that in the Services of his Majesty he hath pawned the Person of his Son as a Gage of his Faith. To this effect your Lordship shall speak and write to the King's Officers, to the end that both with his Majesty and them, there may be a Correspondence of Speech and Writing, and so they may

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may be perswaded, that you are gone thither to serve and deserve.

The Prince (as your Lordship knows) is his Catholick Majesty's Lieutenant in the *Low-Countries*, and commandeth the King's Forces, and hath Sovereign Authority in all Things; and therefore it is to be presupposed, that if you will serve the King, you must serve the Prince; and that serving his Excellency, you serve his Majesty.

And forasmuch as to serve and not satisfie, is a kind of not Serving, your Lordship must resolve with your self so to do, that the Prince may be served by you to his Satisfaction; and think with your self that he will then be satisfied with your Service, when you shall serve him well; and well you cannot serve him, unless you make your self active and of good Capacity: In this Point therefore it is necessary for you to bestow all your Travail and Industry, and to learn that which you do not yet know, which in my Opinion

nion is of two Sorts; one belonging to the Exercise of War, the other to the Honour and particular Manners of his Excellency.

For it is not enough for a Captain to know the Art of Warfare, but it becometh him also to know how to use it according to the Honour and Pleasure, and proper Manner of his General.

This being presupposed, your Lordship shall seek to have full Information of the Province of *Flanders*, and to learn upon whom it boundeth, of what Compass it is, on what Side it may be annoyed, or not, into how many Parts it is divided, by what Name or Title every Part of it is called; what Sea, what Havens, what Mountains, what Rivers, what Lakes, what Marshes it hath, and such other Places of Mark or Note. The Things likewise wherewith it aboundeth, what it wanteth, to whom it yieldeth any thing, and of whom it receiveth any thing.

thing, (I mean of such Things as the Country breedeth or breedeth not, as Cattle, Fruits of the Earth, and Mines,) and moreover their Trades and Labourers ; also their Cities, and especially their Principal ; how big they be, how well built, how strong, how populous, how rich, their noble Families, and their Wealth ; their Adherents ; in what Reputation and Credit, and how affected one towards another ; the Natures and Conditions of the Men ; to what they are most apt, and to what they are unapt ; and to what things they apply themselves most and least ; their Religion, their Judgments, their Customs, and the Manner of their Government. The King's Revenue, in what it consisteth ; whether it may be augmented or no, and how, and how much.

To the Knowledge of these Things your Lordship must add the Original and Cause of this War, the true Causes, the pretended Causes of it, the principal

pal Causes, and the secondary; how *Flanders* was governed by the Duke *D'Alva*, how by the great Commander of *Castile*, how by *Don John* of *Austria*, and how it is now governed by this Prince; the Diversities and the Likeness of their Governments, their Errors which they have committed, which are amended, and which not; and how they were amended; the profitable Provisions and Consultations that have been put in Execution, or not, with their good or evil Success; the Forces of the Rebels, the Aid and Relief which they have, how sound, how durable it is; the Expences that run upon the King; and the War, whether it may be finished, or not; if it may, why it is delayed; if not, what they expect, and what it is they fear.

Your Lordship must use all Diligence to know the Situation of the Fortresses that are of greatest Name and Importance in all the Province, whether they be held by the King, or by

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his Rebels, understanding the Wants of every one of them, how they may be won and kept, what Number of Soldiers is necessary for Offence and Defence; what Artillery, what Munition, what Victuals, what Succours, and what Impediments, and such other Things besides, that may be learned by Men of Practice and Experience,

These Observations are to be noted, either under your Designment, or under the Situation of the Fortresses, or else in some other convenient Leaves.

Every Art or Profession that a Man learneth, is nothing else but a Collection of Lessons and Rules, serving to some certain End, which are found out and drawn forth of Practice and Discourse; and therefore, if your Lordship will learn the Art of Warfare, you must learn it of them that have it, and mark how they put it in Execution, noting their Precepts, and observing their Actions.

It

It shall be good for your Lordship at all Times to be talking of it, and yet not with every Body, but only with such as are cunning and expert, endeavouring your self to be capable and resolved in such Things as they shall tell you, and in such other Things as you shall hear of daily in your ordinary Discourses which shall happen: for it is very likely that you shall oftentimes hear such Matters; but it will not be any Profit to you to hear and conceive them, if when you have heard and conceived them, you should not dispose them in some order, and make a Remembrance of them.

And therefore, I would greatly commend your Lordship, if you would herein use your Pen, and write the Cases and Rules which you shall have heard; and so by little and little, you shall make your self a rich Treasure-house of Military Propositions.

The Manner that I would observe herein, should be to have my Leaves

and

and every one of them noted with a Word, signifying either a Person, or an Instrument, or an Action, or some other thing concerning War, under which Word, as under a general Term or Head, I would write all the Maxims, the Sayings, the Opinions, the Judgments, and Conceits that I should learn belonging to such Things, Actions, Instruments, and Persons.

As for Example: If I should understand that the Pike should be sixteen Foot long, and that it was invented to keep out Horses, I would refer this Saying to the Leaf that is noted with the Word *Pike*. And if I should hear that in Fight the *Arquibustier* after he hath discharged his Piece, must give Place to the Soldier that standeth next behind him, and so retire himself to the Tail of that Row, I would Place this Saying in the Leaf that is noted with the Word *Arquibustier*. The like I would do generally in all other matters that I should happen

I

pen to hear, appertaining to a Captain, a Serjeant, a Standard-bearer, a General of the Army, and others; also to Artillery, to *Arquibusers*, to Pikes, and other Weapons of Defence and Offence.

Likewise for Victuals, for Munition, for Baggage, and such like; for Lodging, for Marching, for Fighting, and other Actions of Warfare; and also for the Siege of a City, for the Relieving of it, for Trenching, for Undermining, for Battery, and such other Works: To which Heads and general Terms, many others may be added.

Notwithstanding all this, it will not be sufficient to learn and write, and make a Remembrance of these Things, unless your Lordship take a Delight also to see 'em put in Practice, and to exercise your self in them.

And therefore you may not omit to be at every Muster, and at every Action; and you must endeavour your self

to be always one of the first at them, that you may see the Beginning, the Middle, and the End of all; still demanding a Reason of all that you shall see done; and why it is rather thus done than otherwise, and whether it be always so done or not, together with the Differences of the Places and Times.

You shall also endeavour your self to yield your Aid and Help to the Officers, so that you have Leave so to do, in Matters that do not slacken or hinder the Action of the Officers, or engender a Confusion or Disorder; but above all, that you do not trouble the Minds of the said Officers, and that you have the Good-will and Leave of the Prince to do what you do.

I did put your Lordship in mind here at *Rome*, to keep a Diary. I do now again put you in mind of it, for your own Benefit: You may make a Book to write such Things in, as happen from Day to Day; wherein you
D shall

shall write not only the Successes, but also the Manner and Causes of them: For (as you know) every Action hath its Original upon some Advice, and he that putteth in Execution, keepeth, or at least ought to keep, within certain Bounds. And thus may your Lordship, by all this your Pains and Travails, with Speed obtain the Hability and Valour which yet you want.

Touching the Manner how you are to serve the Prince in Matters of War, I can say no more unto you, but that you must endeavour to learn it, and use all the Diligence you can to learn it of those that have Notice thereof, and so put it in Execution.

Your Lordship must not only serve the Prince well in those Things that concern the King's Service, but in your Proceedings with him you must please him, and apply your self to the Humour and Fashion of his Excellency; thereby to get his Love and Favour. The Report is, That the Prince standeth

standeth upon Terms, and keepeth a great Majesty, so that it is likely (as some think) that he will use with your Lordship, Terms of great Gravity: But because I am of a contrary Opinion from them, I must tell you that in this your Beginning, the Prince will either make much of you, and talk familiarly with you, and so favour you, and bestow some Charge upon you, or he will do clean contrary, or else he will keep a Mean between both.

In the first Case, I must put your Lordship in Mind, that in all your Actions you constantly observe one perpetual Course of Obedience and Reverence, and the more you shall be honoured and favoured by the Prince, so much the more must you shew your self reverent and modest towards him; not fore-flowing in any Sort thoroughly to perform your Duty; nor in any Case taking to your self too much Liberty or Licence by it.

In the second Case, your Lordship must not take any Offence, neither yet distrust him, nor disdain him: Serve him as you ought to do, and in your Service shew your Good-will and Constancy, and be not dismayed at any Accident, that may peradventure breed your Dislike. Consider with your self, that the Haughtiness of the Prince, is either in him by Nature, and so it is the more excusable; or else it proceedeth from his own Will, his Excellency thinking with himself, that it is necessary for him so to do, both in Respect of the Quality of his Business, and of the Government which he hath; and also because he sustaineth the Authority and Person of the King there in *Flanders*; from whom we may well say also, that he hath received Order and Commandment so to do: These two Advertisements may declare to your Lordship what Course you should keep in the third Case.

The

The Prince is Couragious, and some think that he is more venturous than is requisite for a Person that hath upon him such a Charge as he hath, considering that the King's Reputation leaneth upon him, and the Safety also of so much as his Majesty possesseth in *Flanders*: And therefore he was reprov'd by the King, when he was wounded at *Tournay*, for that (like a private Soldier) he would venture himself to win the Ditch of the Fortress, with such Danger as every Man knoweth. In this respect the Prince loveth resolute Men, regardeth them much, and maketh great account of them.

His Excellency playeth neither at Cards nor Dice; and it is likely, that such as are like him should consequently be the more in his Favour.

The Prince loveth one Lady of good Quality, and taketh great Pleasure that she should be courted and served by those which esteem his Favour. It will become your Lordship

also to do your best to that End, lest otherwise you displease the Prince: And for the same respect, you must likewise abstain from doing too much, and always remember, that a Woman is a frail Creature, and a very dangerous Thing.

Other Matters, that touch the Mind and Honours of the Prince, you must learn of those that use his Company, wherein your Lordship must employ your Diligence. And altho' it shall be your Office and Duty to serve and attend the Person of the Prince, yet you must understand, that too much continuance in so doing, will hurt, and engender a loathing; for it maketh the Superior to be a Servant as it were, and breedeth him much hindrance and inconvenience. And therefore inform your self well, how the Prince disposeth of his Time, at what Hour he is busie, when he would be alone, and when he desireth Company to pass away the Time, and with whom; to the

the end, that while you study to please him, you do not importune him, or molest him.

In the Presence of the Prince speak but little, and speak only what you know, and that upon good Occasion. Premeditate beforehand what you mean to speak to his Excellency; and do it resolutely, and in good Order.

To such Discourse as shall pass in the Presence of the Prince, or when his Excellency doth discourse himself, shew your self to be very attentive, otherwise it will be thought that you regard neither who speaketh, nor what he speaketh.

Shew your self also capable of such Things as are discoursed upon, that thereby you may breed a good Opinion of your Sharpness and Wit. Likewise give some Token of your Opinion, and Affection touching that which you shall hear; to the end that it may be seen, that you either like, or dislike that which in Truth is to be liked or disliked.

In all these Shews, you must be far from all Shadow of Cunning, but do it in Silence.

In the Presence of the Prince do not shew your self melancholy nor thoughtful; for Sadness and Musing offend great Personages, who do attribute it to the little Reverence that is born to them, when a Man is present in Body, and absent from them in Mind.

Such Things as the Prince shall tell you, keep to your self, and if you chance to hear them of any other, make you as though they were News to you, and be you always the last Man that talk of them.

There will not want some, that either for their own private Interest, or for their Friend's sake, will request your Lordship's Intercession for them to the Prince: I must here put you in mind, it will be no easie matter for you to please them herein: For if you obtain the Grant of his Excellency, he will keep a Reckoning of it; if
you

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you do not obtain it, he will think your Lordship is discontented with the Repulse. And in Truth, every Day to be a requesting for other Men, may breed a great Trouble. And therefore it shall behove you in mild Terms, to answer those, for whom you deny to make Intercession, and to use some reasonable Excuse, that they may go from you with good Contentment.

If you do make Intercession for others, (which by my Advice you shall take upon you but seldom) let the Things which your Lordship shall desire, be just and fit for you, and convenient for the Time, not unusual to be granted; and if it be possible, let them be agreeable to the Service of his Majesty, and the Honour of the Prince.

The Persons for whom you shall make Suit, let them not be odious, nor of ill Name.

Before you resolve with your self to intreat any Grace or Favour for other Men, first see, and learn thoroughly, whether the Person that desireth your Mediation, hath any Competitor or no, and who it is; and if his Competitor be supported either by any great Person, or by some Servant that is favoured of the King, or of his Excellency.

In Case your Lordship obtain his Suit, you must shew that you make great account of it; but in case you do not obtain, yet you must shew your self to be contented, and make the Prince believe also that it is so.

If the Prince shall commit any Service to your Lordship, take your Commission plain and distinct; read it, and read it again to his Excellency, and depart not from him with any Doubt. If it be long, or if there be many Things, or of any Importance, take their Declarations and Interpretations in Writing, and resolve with your self,

self, rather to importune his Excellency, than to run into any Danger of committing any Error.

In publick Actions have no regard of Degree or Precedency, and venture upon every thing; account every Place honourable, and every Action worthy of you, and put Things in Execution in the Presence of the Prince, as tho' it were in the Presence of the King himself; and in the Absence of the Prince, as tho' it were in the Eye of his Excellency.

If any Man come to complain himself of his Grievs to your Lordship, give him the Hearing for once; and make as tho' you were moved with Compassion towards him: Put him in good Comfort, and extenuate the Injury that he pretendeth, but ever excuse the Prince, and exhort the Party to hold his Peace, and be patient; especially, and above all, be very wary in offering or ministering any Counsel to such Persons; for such kind of Men

do

do not use always to speak the Truth, and oftentimes are very full of Infirmities, and commonly we do not know who is their Adversary, nor what they report of us in Secret.

If your Lordship be advised to use but little Speech in the Presence of the Prince, I do reply and add that your Lordship shall observe that Advice in the Presence of every Man; for Silence is above all Vertues, and saveth a Man from infinite Errors. But yet I would wish your Lordship so to keep Silence, that it may be known it is Wisdom for the most part you shall utter.

In your Demands and Answers be modest; in all your Questions observe Opportunity, and in your Answers be brief and sensible.

Question with those that know more than your self, for so you shall put in Execution those Advertisements that serve for your Learning.

Tell

Tell no Tales, use no Discourses, oppose not your self against others; give your Judgment or Sentence against no Man; speak well of every Body, especially of those which are in Favour with his Excellency.

Find Fault with no Man, unless it be more than necessary so to do; blame the Action, not the Person; speak honourably of all Nations, and learn what is proper and peculiar to every one, and what every one seeketh and desireth.

Give charge to your Servants that they keep their Tongues to themselves, and prattle not too much of any Body, for oftentimes that is attributed to the Master which is spoken by his Family.

Of the *Pope* and his Followers give good Speeches. Shew your good Contentment and Reverence towards him; perswade your self that you shall be marked and noted in all Things whatsoever you say or do; and doubt not but

but that *Camps* are full of Spies, and the Prince himself hath some towards him for that purpose; and therefore he will accept in good part that which they shall tell him, as his good and loving Servants; and will encourage them to advertise him of such Matters as are for his Service.

Be familiar with every Man, but especially with such as are of Vertue and Valour, for they will not only instruct you, but also they will breed you Credit; with others keep Familiarity, for so you shall not offend them, nor have any Enemies.

You shall be accounted wise by fitting your self to every Man's Humour, and practising with the *Italians* after the *Italian* Manner, with the *Spaniards* after the *Spanish*, and with the *Flemings* after the *Flemish* Manner.

You must be advised, that the People of that Nation are very credulous, suspicious, given to Novelties, and unthankful; they speak and drink liberally,

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rally, and do hardly bridle the Infirmities of the Body, much less the Passions of the Mind.

Give courteous Entertainment to all, but especially to the Prince's Servants: Above all, procure the Friendship of his Favourites, and of all his Servants and Officers, both publick and private, that are in the Favour and good Grace with his Excellency.

Disdain no Man. tho' he be never so base, remembering with your self, that in Time and Place one Man may be worth a Thousand, especially in Occurrents of War.

Give no Ear to such as report other Mens Actions, and make a Profession of it; nor to such as by that Means seek to purchase your Favour; especially if they be Reporters of naughty Matters, and of such as shall touch great Lords, or the Person of the Prince: In which Case your Lordship must not only be loth to hear them, but also reject them, and cause them to avoid your Presence.

To

To those that shall converse with you, do not impart the evil Speeches that other Men shall utter to you of them; or at least conceal the Authors Name, to the end, that thro' your Default there arise no Hatred, where none is; or if there be any, that it be no farther enkindled; and so your Lordship shall not be noted for Lightness.

If any jealous or envious Person seek to slander or Prejudice your Lordship privily, know him thoroughly, and be not deceived; observe his Demeanor, and make as tho' you did not heed him; especially beware you behave your self well, and go beyond him in that Point; entertain him with all honour, be often in his Company, overcome him in Curtesie, and comfort him. To such as he is a Friend unto, do all the Service and Favour you can; yea even unto such as know it, and peradventure set forward his evil Conceits. To be brief, avoid all Occasions of Breach with him, and if there

must

must needs be a Breach, let it be seen that your Lordship doth it of Necessity and Justice, and that the Fault, and Default is in him.

With such like Persons, and every Body else, tho' it be your open Enemy, keep good Intelligence always when there is any Matter in hand touching the Service of the King, or of the Prince; and for the Service of his Majesty, or of his Excellency, lay down all private Passion or Rancour; and in case such a Person either for want of Knowledge or of Power, or for any other Cause whatsoever, should run into Danger, to commit some Error, to the Prejudice of the King or the Prince; your Lordship may not suffer the Error to be committed by any means, altho' your Adversary thereby might fall into the Displeasure of his Majesty, or of his Excellency; but lend your Hand unto it, as tho' it were a common Danger.

Disimulation

Diffimulation is necessary for every Man, especially in Armies and in Courts; yet is not every Diffimulation good and honourable, but that only which tendeth to a good and honest End, and which with the Observations of due Circumstances, denieth not the Truth, nor goeth against that which is right: Such kind of Diffimulation is a part and kind of Prudence, and consisteth for the most part in Silence, or holding your Peace, and that for these Causes following:

Videlicet, not to publish that which another Man hath committed to our Trust; not to bring any thing to Light, upon Knowledge whereof some Scandal may ensue; not to discover any Designment, which being discovered, should not attain to its Purpose; not to let others see that we know the Defects of other Men, or any evil Deeds of others. For Men of evil Imperfections, and guilty of any Defaults, when they are known to be such Persons,

sons, do commonly hate them that know them to be so: Not to make known that we know the Thoughts of other Men, or the hard Conceits which other Men have against us, or against such as we love, or the good Affection which other Men bear towards those which are our Enemies; not to give any Notice that we know an Offence committed against us, or that we do make so great Account of it; nor to put our selves in any Necessity, Danger, or Distraction, by contending to answer, when neither the Matter, nor the Person, nor the Place, nor the Time doth require it.

Lastly, Not to bring any Hurt or Shame upon our selves or others, but to the Benefit and Honour of our selves and others.

In all these Cases to dissemble with Silence is thought to be good, and is not reproveable: And altho' it seemeth to be a very hard Matter to deal thus with our Friends in not telling them such

such Things, as being told them, would do them Pleasure and Service; yet in the Cases presupposed, Reason would that the greater Respect should not be neglected, and so we do our selves the more wrong.

But sometimes it falleth out, that we must also dissemble with Speech; and that falleth out, when we are driven of Necessity to answer; and if a Man demand of us whether a Matter be so, or not so; and what is purposed or conceived, it is not fit to dissemble with Silence, but we must dissemble with Answer; and this Dissimulation requireth more Art; for in such Cases Speech cannot be avoided, and we are commonly as desirous to keep our selves from Danger in telling a Lye, as from Danger in telling a Truth.

Some there are, that in such a Case do use to dissemble, by cutting off their Speech, and leaping into another Matter; but this doth not always fort to good effect, or at least will not serve the Turn. Others

Others there are, which answer, they cannot tell, and this is a Fault, because they deny the Truth, and say that which is not; and therefore the Answer must be like to the Retreat, which is both without Flying, and also without Fighting, Goods and Persons saved.

In making Answer, three Things are wont to be observed; first, Not to deny the Truth: Secondly, Not to tell that which we should not: Thirdly, Not to leave the Mind of him that maketh the Demand, in the same Terms wherein we found him. And the Answer is so much the more commendable, if it be restrained within these Limits.

Altho' sometimes it is also lawful to note the Demander for his impertinent Demands; which may be done either covertly or openly, according to the Degrees of the Persons, and the Qualities of the Circumstances.

There

There is a Diffimulation likewise permitted by exterior Shews and by Deeds; and that is, when for the Reasons and Ends aforesaid, we abstain from shewing either Gladness, or Sorrow, or Hope, or Fear, or any other Affection that is in us; and also from making Men to think, that we do see those Things which we do see, and perceive those Things which we do perceive; and finally, that we do know, deal in, and desire, that which indeed we do know, deal in, and desire.

And be it known unto your Lordship, that in the whole Life of Man, and all his Actions and Business, *Diffimulation is no less profitable than Counter-Poisons, and true Preservatives are in Physick*; for even as Things do preserve and keep us from Poison, and many other Evils, so doth Diffimulation save us from many Deceits and Errors, and from infinite other hurtful Things.

You must know also, that Diffimulation

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lation being not well used, doth discover you, and bringeth forth an Effect quite contrary to your Meaning, and the present Business : And therefore your Lordship must take heed, that when you keep Silence with your Tongue, you do not speak by the Motions of your Countenance, nor by other Gestures of your Body.

Secondly, That when you dissemble by speaking, you do not discover your self by such Means touching the Matter you should leave in doubt : And lastly, That if you dissemble by Action, or outward Appearance, you do it covertly, and with great Wariness, and that you do not run into any Extremity.

But forasmuch as in Matters which we handle, Fortune hath a great Stroke, and in War especially hath her principal Dominion, your Lordship must watch Opportunity, which indeed is the Matter and Conveniency of your Actions, and maketh those Things possible,

possible, which before could not be brought to pass, and those Things easie which before were hard, and those Things safe, which before were dangerous, and those Things good and profitable, which before were hurtful and naught. And therefore keep these Things in your Mind always, that you entertain Occasion and Opportunity, and wait for them, and not prevent them, and do not as others do, who being impatient in their Desires, do snatch before their Time, and being desirous to prevent Opportunity, do venture their evil Fortune, and overthrow themselves.

And in case Opportunity not offering it self, your Lordship be disposed to seek it, then you must seek it wisely, and with good Means, because such Opportunities as are forced, and as it were begged, are for the most part neither happy nor commodious. But if Opportunity be offered, your Lordship must take Knowledge of it, and
because

because it is a hard Matter to know it, (for that it is a hard Thing, which is not seen, and hath no Shape when it doth come) it is comprehended by your Mind, if you mark all Accidents, and be attentive to the End.

And for as much as all Occasions that are offered are not always to Purpose, your Lordship must use great Judgment, which will measure and compare Things together, and will discern and determine upon the Convenience thereof: Use all your Judgment herein, and take hold of Opportunity, and be always ready to take hold of it: For Fortune cometh and goeth according to the Motions of Time, and that Offer which is made now, (if it be not accepted of) a little while after will prove nothing.

In the Execution of any Thing, your Lordship must be, both considerate, and also hardy; for he that feareth, performeth less, and he that useth no Consideration, performeth more than

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is convenient; which is the Original of all Danger.

In Execution, two Things among others are especially reprov'd; one is, to execute imperfectly, by not bringing your Action to an end, and then you shall not with Profit finish the Opportunity you took hold of: The other is, that oftentimes an Occasion well taken, and well executed, engendereth another Occasion which is better: And he that either knoweth not this second, or hath no Judgment of it, or taketh no hold of it, defraudeth the publick Interest of a good Service, and himself of great Glory.

The last and chiefest Advertisement which I have to give your Lordship, is this; That when you shall come to any Towns or Countries, either of Friends or Enemies, where Arms and Violence shall have supreme Authority, for the Reverence of God, take care that your People abstain from Churches and Monasteries; that they have great respect

respect to Ecclesiastical Persons; and that they lay no Hands upon sacred Things.

In all Wars it must needs be a great Fault not to do so; much more in this, wherein the Cause of Religion is handled, and the Justice of the Catholick King. And this to do, beseemeth you far more than any other, because you are a Subject of the Holy Church, and of an House that hath many Cardinals and Prelates; and because you have not only deserved well of the *See* Apostolic, but also you have received and acknowledged many Benefits and Honours for the same.

The Lord God bless you, and grant unto you so much of his Grace, as you shall fear and honour him, and shew it in your Actions. Amen.

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WALSINGHAM's
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OF
Prudential Maxims,
FOR
STATESMEN *and* COURTIER'S.

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WALSINGHAM'S
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CHAP. I.

*The several Ends of Courtiers, and
 the Means to attain them.*

IT is necessary that all Men who
 desire with Prudence and Order
 to govern their Affairs, do in
 the first Place, propose unto them-
 selves

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selves an End, whereunto all their Actions must tend. Those that look towards the Court, do not all fix upon the same Ends; some the Hope of Gain, and others the Desire of Honour, leads; the Ambition of Rule draws not a few; and very many steer that Course, merely out of a busie Inclination, to the Engrossing, Crossing, or Interposing in other Mens Affairs; whilst the Number of those is very small, who primitively intend the Honour, Safety, and Advantage of the Prince.

But tho' their Ends be diverse, yet the Way to attain to whatever End any Man there hath pitcht upon, is but one, and common to all that move in that Sphere, to wit, the Favour of the Prince; in obtaining which, the Industry and Labour of all Courtiers is employed. In order whereunto, it is in the first place necessary, that you be known unto your Prince; and then, either by your Behaviour, your Parts, your Actions, or some other laudable Means, that

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that you make yourself grateful in his Eye; yet there are those for whom the Splendor of their Family, the Authority of their Office, or Convenience of their Employment (whether it be high or low, come unto them by Inheritance, or got with Money) hath prepared an Access unto the Prince's Person; so that they being hereby exempted from the Toil of seeking how to become known unto the Prince, find half their Work performed unto their Hands, whilst those to whom these Introductions are denied, find their greatest Difficulties in their first Beginnings: But when they are once known unto the Prince, as he judges them fit for his Service, they are often preferred and trusted before others; by reason that being raised from a low Condition, or a mean Fortune, they are more addicted and subject to the Prince's Will, whom they submissively Reverence, as the only Author of their Advancement.

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It is otherwise with Courtiers that are born Great, for upon those the Dignity either of their Employment, or their Family, imposes a Necessity of having a Regard unto their own Honour, and of preferring sometimes their own to the Prince's Opinion; who besides is more oft unwilling to promote these, through a certain Emulation, or Fear lest their swelling Greatness should insult at last against him that is the Author of it; and he not able to repress them without Danger to himself and his Kingdom; whilst, on the other Side, the Oppression of him that riseth from a mean Condition, is far more easie; only let the Prince turn his Back upon him, or abandon him to the Great Ones, (who for the most part look with Envy upon such) and he is Lost. I intend here only those wise Princes that have known how to limit within due Bounds, the Power of those they love and advance; not conferring all the Authority and trust of their Kingdoms

doms upon one of these Men, in subjecting even the Peers unto him, which having been done by some Princes, did seldom or almost never succeed well.

C H A P. II.

The Ways to obtain the Prince's Favour.

THE Ways whereby Courtiers get into Authority and Favour with the Prince, are two, above all other most usual and frequented. The one is of those that seek after publick Offices and Dignities, climbing up the Stairs of Honour, till they come within a Stage of the Favourite himself. The other is of those that follow the Court, sedulously seeking all Occasions of being imployed in the secret Affairs of the Prince, and made use of in Business of the greatest Trust.

The

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The last of which Ways is without doubt the shortest, and traced with their Steps who have lived in the greatest Favour with their Princes; as *Mecenas* was to *Augustus*, and *Sallust* both to him and his Successor *Tiberius*, of whom *Tacitus*, Annal. 3. ' *Sallust*, altho' the Ways of Honour ' were easie unto him, imitating *Mecenas*, without the Senatorial Dignity, outwent in Power many that ' had been honoured both with Tri- ' umphs and the Consulship, and va- ' rying from the Custom of the An- ' cients, thro' his Delicacy and Neat- ' ness, seemed prone to nothing but ' the Plenty and Abundance of Lux- ' ury, altho' he had indeed a vigorous ' Mind, capable of the weightiest Bu- ' siness, by so much the more sharp ' and active, by how much the more ' he made shew of Dullness and Sloth.

Like to him was *Mella*, of whom speaks the same *Tacitus*, Annal. 12.

' *Mella*, born of the same Parents that ' *Gallio*

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• *Gallio* and *Seneca* were, thro' a preposterous Ambition, laid aside all Pretence to publick Honours; to the end, that being only a *Roman* Knight, he might equal in Power those that had been Consuls: Besides, he believed it the shortest Way to the getting of Money, to be imployed in Agencies, and soliciting the Prince's Business.

C H A P. III.

The Ways to become known to the Prince.

THE Ways of becoming Known and Grateful to the Prince, are various, according to the Diversity of the Courtiers and the Times: There are some that make themselves known by their Actions signally, either profitable or glorious; or else by a more than

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common Vertue and Honesty. The Commendation of others, gives to many both Access to, and Interest in the Prince, which is indeed the most usual Way of all. For Princes live in such a Degree of Eminence above others, and are so hedged in with the Number of Peers, and Train of Veterane Courtiers, that a Stranger can hardly thrust in amongst the Throng that stand in his Way, unless either there be some one to take him by the Hand, and make his Passage, or else that himself, by some extraordinary Enterprize, do attract the Eyes of all Men upon him, and, amongst others, those of the Prince.

And here the Fact of the Architect *Dimocrates*, or as some call him *Stasicles*, is very memorable. He desiring to become known unto the Great *Alexander*, when all the Courtiers had refused to bring him to the King, be-thinks of a Way of presenting himself all naked, anointed with Oyl, a popular

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lar Crown on his Head, upon his left Shoulder a Lyon's Skin, and holding a great Club in his Right Hand: And thus Accoutred he comes into *Alexander's* Presence, as he was sitting on his Throne. The Novelty of the Thing drew the Eyes of all upon him, and moved *Alexander* himself so far, as he caused the Man to be brought unto him; and tho' he approved not of what he propounded, yet he commanded he should be enrolled amongst his *Family*.

I do not bring this Example to persuade any Body with the like Foolery, to insinuate himself into the Prince's Favour, but to the end I may demonstrate, That those who are Strangers, and unknown, unless they be assisted by some one in great Authority, can hardly Screw themselves into so great a Train as do surround the Prince, except either by some memorable Action, as we have said before, or by some unusual

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unusual Accident, they deserve, as the Poet says,

*With Fingers to be pointed out,
For some strange thing amongst the Rout.*

C H A P. IV.

*The Honour and Inclinations of
the Prince and his Familiars
are to be known.*

OUR Young Courtier, who desires to be known and loved by the Prince, must observe well the Manners and Conditions, not only of the Prince himself, but also of such of his Followers as he most trusts and relies upon; together with the Peers, and all others who may either afford him any Help or Countenance; or else, on the contrary, (stirred up either with Emulation, Fear, Envy, Hate, their

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their own or their Friends Concernments) work him any Prejudice. It is chiefly necessary that he make a full Discovery of the Inclinations and Customs of the Prince, that for the most part follow the Temperature of his Body, which tho' by wary Princes they be much concealed and smothered, yet it seldom happens but that sometimes they break out, and as it were laying aside Disguises, shew themselves : Since all their Actions are so exposed to the Eyes of Men, it cannot be but some one or other must observe whereunto their Inclinations tend. Sometimes they are so oppress'd and vexed with the Weight of Business, that forgetting their Artifices, they betray their Dispositions. *Tiberius* himself, altho' a most skilful Master in Dissembling, could not set so good a Face upon it, but that Time would by little and little bring all his Arts to Light.

But since those of other Men are so mazy, the Propensions of Princes must needs

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needs be diverse, and almost infinite, yet they may be reduced to two Heads: The one of which includes all that tends to the Greatness of his State, the other his Personal Pleasures: his Greatness consists either in his Fame and Authority, or in Riches, and the Duty of his Subjects; or lastly, in the Strength and Faithfulness of his Armies. In these Things he ought to accommodate his Endeavours to the Nature and Disposition of the Prince's Affairs, which he that shall with Dexterity and Skill perform, provided he be neither suspected nor hated for other Reasons, cannot fail of becoming acceptable unto the Prince.

Make the same Judgment of the Pleasures and vicious Affections of the Prince. If he be Diffident, and of a fearful Disposition, believe that a bold Informer will be grateful unto him, who sticks not at the Displeasure of the Great Ones, and is ready to execute the Prince's Commands, what-
soever

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soever they be, as *Tacitus* describes *Sejanus*. ‘ He had a Body (says he, *Annal* 4.) patient of Toil, a bold Mind; he was a close Concealer of himself, and a rash Accuser of others; composed he was of a Mixture of Flattery and Pride, with an exterior Face of Modesty; and yet inwardly fraught with an Excess of Ambition.

If the Prince delight in Drunkenness, he will also take Pleasure in Men addicted to the same Vice; for which Cause *Tiberius* loved *Pomponius* and *Lucius Piso*, of whom *Suetonius*, Cap. 24. de *Tiberio*. ‘ After this, the Prince, to the Corruption of publick Manners, spent two whole Days and Nights eating and drinking with *Pomponius Flaccus* and *Piso*; to one of which he gave immediately the Province of *Syria*, and to the other the Government of the City, calling them in his Letters, his most pleasant and familiar Friends. The same *Tiberius*,

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Tiberius, as *Suetonius* relates, preferred a most ignoble Fellow to the Quæstorship, before many noble Pretenders, because at a Banquet where himself was drinking, he drank off nine Gallons of Wine.

Their Society in their Lust, did endear *Tigellinus* to *Nero*. ‘*Tigellinus* was more powerful (saith *Tacitus*, Annal 14.) in the Bosom of the Prince, as being admitted to his most private Lusts.’ ‘So *Petronius*, that Master of Elegance (for those are the *Historians Words*, An. 16.) was taken in, amongst few, to the Familiarity of *Nero*, who thought nothing pleasant or sweet but what *Petronius* approved of.’ And according to this Example, did *Commodus* and *Heliogabalus* confer all the Dignities of the Empire upon Men for Lust and Licentiousness most like unto themselves.

Mutianus was not beloved by *Vespasian*, so much for his Fidelity, Duty, and the Merit of his passed Services,
as

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as that because he was more dexterous than others in feeding his Avarice. To *Isacius Angelus*, who after the Death of *Theodorus* got the Empire, the same Avarice endeared a certain Boy, who, tho' he scarce knew how to write, kept the Accompts of his Exchequer, out of hope only of sharing in the Bribes, which were given him largely from all those that used his Assistance.

Manuel Comnenus, also Emperor, seeking some rough Exactor, and crafty Raisher of his Tributes, that might supply his Prodigality with Money, chose *John Pucius*, a rude, unsufferable Man, difficult of Access, and intolerable harsh :

*Whose Language and his Looks did well
His Nature and his Office tell.*

And not content with this, lifted him up to that Authority, that he did not only excel all others in Dignity, but also would dare to violate the Edicts
of

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of the Prince, and Orders of the Senate; abrogating, under Pretence of encreasing the Treasury, some of the greatest and most necessary Offices of the Empire; such as was the Commander of the Gallies, the chief Strength and Defence of that Imperial Monarchy.

CHAP. V.

The Prince's Affections, whether, and how to be complied with.

BUT that they who desire to become acceptable to the Prince, ought to sooth him in all his Inclinations, is not only a thing publicly granted, but also authoris'd by the daily Practice of Courtiers. An honest Man will wonder at it, and think that by this Rule, that teaches us to humour all the Dispositions of the Prince, he

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is shut out from Court; since Princes often run Courses much astray from the Paths of Reason and Justice. Truly, he that desires to lead a Life altogether innocent, and remote from the Conversation of Men addicted to Vice, and to their own corrupt Inclinations, shall, in my Opinion, do very well to absent himself from that great Courtesan the Court (if I may so call it) that sometimes corrupts Men of the greatest Integrity and Innocence.

Let us see an Example or two of this Corruption. *Festinus*, the Friend of *Maximinus*, during *Valentinian's* Reign, governened *Asia* with a wonderful Repute of Gentleness and Modesty, being a sharp Reprover of the Violence and Cruelties of *Maximinus*, and of the Calumnies and Frauds wherewith he circumvented many: But at last, observing that his Companion by these Means had gotten the Command of the Prætorian Bands, next in Dignity to the Emperor himself, he changed
his

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his Manner of Life, and imitating *Maximinus*, did many unjust and cruel Things. *John Pucius* (whom I mentioned but a little before) administered for a Time the Affairs and Treasures of the Emperor *Manuel* with great Integrity; which caused that the Emperor's Pride and Inhumanity was in some sort tolerable to those that were well disposed amongst the Subjects; but at last (as *Nicetas* witnesseth) giving himself over to the Desire of Wealth, he was in Covetousness inferior to none that ever had borne those Offices before him, exhorting his very Friends and Servants to imitate his Example, as many of them did; and the rest, though better, and incorrupted themselves, yet were fain silently to suffer others to be depraved, for fear of the Danger that hung over those that should oppose him.

Aristides I. both in Name and Nature, being by the *Athenians* made Treasurer, in the first Place, according

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ing to his own Disposition, and the Duty of an honest Man, went about to hinder all those that were under his Charge from robbing the Treasury; whereupon they presently accused him of Cheating and Bribery, as one of the corruptest Persons that ever bore that Office; insomuch that he had like to have been Condemned: But being at last quit, and his Office still continued, he determined to imitate his Predecessors, and wink at the Thefts of his Companions; by which means he presently reobtained the Name of a good Man in the Opinion of all.

Such Things often fall out in the Courts of Princes, either thro' the Malice of those that are most in Authority, who can endure no Man more virtuous than themselves; or else thro' the Folly and Imprudence of the Prince. The Preservation of our Integrity in Court, I confess, is therefore very difficult; yet if any, either thro' the Necessity of his Fortune, the Eminent

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nence of his Birth, the Dignity of his Office, or the Desire of serving either his Friends or Country, is led unto it, or called thereunto by the Prince, shall undergo this kind of Life, and, as occasion shall require, seek to do thereby Good unto himself, and serve his Friends; in my Judgment he may persist therein without Prejudice to his upright Heart, at leastways for a Time.

I speak of the Courts of the worst Princes; for to live in the Court of a wise Prince, that loves honest and virtuous Men, the Difficulty is not so great. In Times past, good Men did not always undergo publick Employments with a Desire of doing Service to their Country, so much as merely to keep wicked and corrupt Men out of those Charges: And for the same Reasons ought they to seek Access unto Tyrannical and Voluptuous Princes, to the end, that if they durst not directly, at least obliquely, and as much as in them lay, they might impede the evil

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evil and pernicious Counsels of the Prince; either by framing Delays, and contriving Difficulties in his Way, or by offering unto him more mild and plausible Resolutions.

Burrus and *Seneca*, who according to the rate of those Times were accounted not only good Courtiers, but vertuous Men also, when being made Governors of *Nero's* Youth, they observed the Humour of this Prince apt and prone to Lust and Pleasure; least he should break out to the Rapes of the noblest Women, they permitted him a Mistress, whereby for a Time they kept him in Order; who took into his Familiarity *Annaeus Serenus* for a Cloak unto his Lust, ' Who feigning to be ' in Love with this freed Woman, did ' openly own those Gifts to be his ' (saith *Tacitus*, *Annal.* 13.) which the ' Prince in private bestowed upon her. This must a good Man do, who not being able to master the Luxury, Liberty, and Perverseness of the Prince,

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must at least divert them, and bend them otherways ; whence there is least Danger like to arise, either to the Publick, or the Prince's Honour.

C H A P. VI.

The Scarcity and Condition of honest Men, in corrupt and vicious Courts ; The Swarms of ill Men, and their Arts of ingratiating themselves.

PERhaps some one will say, That it seldom falls out that a Tyrant, or a dissolute Prince, will take into his Favour an honest Man ; I do not deny but it is very rare, but yet I must affirm there are few Princes Courts in which there are not some good Men found ; if not call'd thither by the Prince, at least drawn thither by their own Desire of doing Good to others, and infringing

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ing the Power of evil Men; who stand their Ground there to that End, thro' the Assistance of the best disposed Courtiers, and thro' the Friendship and Patronage of some great Man, observing carefully there, that wholesome Rule of *Lepidus*, whom *Tacitus* (Annal. 4.) brings for an Example of a good and wise Courtier, who neither with an unseasonable Contumacy did exasperate the Prince, nor with a fordid Flattery sooth him in his Vices. The same *Tacitus* for these Reasons commends *Capito* and *Labeo*. ' That ' Age (*saieth he*) had at once two Ornaments of Peace; but *Labeo* was of ' a more incorrupted Liberty, and ' therefore more esteemed, whilst *Capito's* pleasing Humour was more acceptable to the Great Ones.

I do not deny but a Courtier's Life will be far more difficult to a honest Man than to another: But withal I must affirm, that the Advantage of Glory and Content of Mind that will arise

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from thence, will much recompence the Trouble of it. Since that, if he carry himself wisely, and accomodate himself to those Things that he sees, he cannot change nor overcome; I dare say he will at last become acceptable to the worst of Princes, and dearer than others that are of a worse Repute, who seldom manage the Prince's Business with a due Fidelity and Care; or at least not equal to that he might easily promise to himself from the Hands of a vertuous and honest Man. And hither tends the Counsel of *Sallust* and *Mecenas*, whereby the first recommended to *Julius Caesar*, and the latter to *Augustus*, the Choice and Friendship of good Men: Because Conscience, and Care of their Reputation, restrain these more powerfully from dishonest Things, than the Fear of Punishment, or the Want of Power doth others.

But as I have said, the Vicious are always in Courts in greater Throngs, who chiefly by two Ways do ingratiate

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tiate themselves with the Prince; first by flattering and fulfilling whatever he shall please to command; and that by so much the more servilely, by how much the more their Hopes of Gain are greater. Next, for that Princes are pleased to have those about them, in Comparison of whom themselves, tho' bad, God knows! seem to be good. Some there are that think also their Lives more secure in the Company of those that are most like unto themselves. *Dionysius* the Tyrant, being requested to expel out of his Court, one, who for his Villany was hated by all Men, answered, ' No, he would keep him, ' least otherwise he himself should become the most hateful Person in the ' Court.' It is natural to those who find themselves obnoxious to any Vice, by comparing themselves to those that are worse, to seek to purchase to themselves some shew of Probity: And it hath been an old Trick of Princes, on purpose to choose unlikely Successors,

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to the end their own Acts and Vertues might appear better and more illustrious: For *Tacitus* is of Opinion, that for no other Reason did *Augustus* adopt *Tiberius*, whose Arrogance and Cruelty he knew full well; nor *Tiberius* choose *Caligula*.

It is principally necessary, that a good Man be very sober and circumspect in his Discourse; for Princes seldom or never love an unwary and careless Liberty in any kind of Men, how vertuous soever they be. Neither did *Plato's* Freedom with *Dionysius* succeed well, for therefore was he delivered up to a needy Mariner, and sent to be sold in the Isle of *Crete*; whence being redeemed by certain Philosophers, he was admonished ' either to abstain ' wholly from the Conversation of ' Princes, or to speak plausible Things. With the like Advices did *Aristotle* furnish his Cousin *Callisthenes*, then going to attend upon *Alexander*; to wit, ' That he should very seldom speak, ' and

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‘ and then never but pleasing Things,
‘ to him upon whose Tongues-end lay
‘ the Disposal of his Life.

C H A P. VII.

*Whom, when, and how we ought
to Flatter; the Nature of a
free and tolerable Flattery, and
the Necessity of it in Courts.*

THough it be inconsistent with the strictest Rules of Morality and Vertue, yet of Necessity, if you live in Court, you must sometimes so flatter the Prince, as may gain him unto you. But all manner of Flattery is not tolerable; a base and servile One was displeasing even to *Tiberius* himself; of whom it is written by *Tacitus*, Annal. 3. that going out of the Senate, he was once heard to say of those flattering Senators in *Greek*, O

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Men born to Slavery! There are Circumstances wherein Flattery used, is as prejudicial, as when it is wholly omitted: For it happens often, that he whom we flatter too grossly, suspects Deceit. It is requisite still that Flattery have something of Truth, and some show of Liberty mixed with it, (it is the Opinion of *Æschines* and *Plutarch*) whereby we may persuade not only the Prince that we speak heartily, and as we think, but others also, and so preserve our Credit.

Cræsus, who whilst he was a King himself, had learned well the Humour of Kings, and what would either please or displease them: When upon a Time *Cambyses*, King of the *Persians*, demanded of those that were about him, ‘ What they thought of
‘ him, in Comparison of his Father
‘ *Cyrus*?’ They all affirmed, ‘ That
‘ he was greater than *Cyrus*, as who
‘ unto his Father’s Kingdoms had ad-
‘ ded *Egypt*, and the Dominion of
‘ the

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‘ the Sea. When *Cræsus* (then a Captive) came to speak, he affirmed, That
‘ he was much inferior to his Father,
‘ by Reason that he had as yet begotten none equal to himself. This Answer had some Taste of Freedom, and therefore was more pleasing to *Cambyse*’s Vanity, than all the rest had said.

That Flattery is very notable of *Valerius Messalla*, recorded by *Tacitus*, *Annal. 1.* *Valerius Messalla* added,
‘ That it was convenient the Oath of
‘ Allegiance should every Year be renewed in *Tiberius*’s Name, who being demanded by *Tiberius*, whether
‘ he had any Commandment from him to give that Advice, he answered,
‘ That he spoke it of his own Accord;
‘ and that in what concerned the Commonwealth, he would use no Man’s
‘ Advice but his own, whatever the Offence or Danger were; which was
‘ a wonderful unpractised kind of Flattery.

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Like unto this, is that which the same Author relates of *Ateius Capito*, Annal. 3. ‘ *Lucius Ennius*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, was accused of Treason, for melting the Image of the Prince, and making it into Plate; *Cæsar* commanded he should not be prosecuted for it: *Ateius Capito* openly complained with a seeming Liberty, that the Power of determining in such a Case, ought not to be taken from the Senate, nor so great a Crime pass unpunished; and that he was slow in resenting his own, least he should also punish an Injury done to the Commonwealth.’ It were easie to bring more Examples of this kind, but these are sufficient to instruct those upon whom there is imposed a Necessity of Flattering, that they may take heed least their Flattery bring upon themselves, or others, any private or publick Damage; it is sufficient that it be such as may sometimes satisfy the Prince’s Vanity.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

*How to manage the Counsels of
a Prince.*

OUR Courtier ought to beware how he engages himself (tho' called) in the Counsel of a proud and violent Prince; for such as those do ask Counsel in no other sort, than as *Xerxes* did when he went to invade *Greece*: He called together the Princes of *Asia*, as it were to deliberate with them about the Conduct of the War; but they being come before him, he said, Least I should seem without your Advice to act all Things according to my own Will, I have called you, my Lords, to Council; yet I would have you know, that I expect here from you obedient Minds, and not troublesome Debates. *Cambyses,*
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the Predecessor of *Xerxes*, being about to marry his Sister, demanded of his Counsellors, whether any Law of the *Persians* prohibited such a Marriage: They perceiving the King did not ask this Question, so much to resolve himself of any Doubt, as to sound the Dispositions of the Nobles, answered, That truly there was no Law that warranted expressly this that the King was about to do; but there was one that affirmed, that whatever the King thought fit to do, was lawful. Thus, out of the Humour of the Prince, and the Nature of the Affair, we must first make a Judgment, whether it be fit or safe, when he asks our Counsel, to deliver freely our Opinions, or to humour him in his Inclinations.

You have royal Examples of this already; I will now bring you one, of a Man, who tho' he were not a King, yet bore the Office of a King, not above an Age ago, in *Spain*: *Ferdinand* being dead, the Pope, and *Maximili-*

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an the Emperor, exhorted *Charles* of *Austria*, then in *Flanders*, to take upon him the Title of King of *Spain*, altho' his Mother *Joan*, *Ferdinand's* Daughter, were still living, but wholly unfit for Government, by Reason of her want of Health. The States were hereupon assembled, and before them Cardinal *Ximenes*, to excuse the Novelty of the Thing, discoursed excellently of the Reasons of what was done. The Grandees more observant of ancient Customs, and the Queen, than was fit, against a King that was shortly to succeed of Course, protested very obstinately against it. *Ximenes* being angry, rises up and tells them, ' The thing that was treated of, was ' not to be called in Question; neither was there any need of their Advice in the Case: That Kings being ' to enter upon their Kingdoms, are ' not to expect the Consent of their Subjects; that they who were assembled, ' were not called out of any Necessity,

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ty, but that they might have Occasi-
on by the Promptitude of their Suf-
frages, to endear their Prince unto
them: But since they interpreted
that as a Due, which was only a
Favour, they should see, that with-
out their Approbation, he would
proclaim King *Charles* at *Madrid*:
Which Example all the rest of the Ci-
ties quickly followed.

Such a manner of Proceeding, not
only in these Cases, but mostly in all
others, do Princes use; scarce asking
any Man's Advice, but either to the
End they may countenance their own
Resolutions with the Consent of many,
or else to discover the Disposition of
the Person they advise withal, as *Ta-
citus* witnesseth that *Tiberius* oft did.
The Courtier must therefore sollici-
tously sift into the Prince's Mind, least
otherwise he should chance to give of-
fensive Counsel. If the Prince's Inclina-
tion in the thing debated be doubt-
ful unto him, let him seem to discuss
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the Matter, and so laying down Arguments both for the one and the other Side, let him leave the Prince to his own Election: Who (if the Thing advised of, be not unalterably resolved upon already) having heard the Reasons that may be brought against it, if he be discreet, will change his Mind.

Neither in this Case will there be any ground for that Bashfulness (of Blushing, to seem so much inferior to any Body, as to follow their Counsel) which tho' it be very hurtful and unbecoming unto them, is very familiar amongst great Men; for having said what you can, you leave the Freedom of determining all to the Prince's Prudence, whereby you will also avoid the Danger that many times Counsellors are obnoxious unto, if their Advices succeed ill. And if the Prince, following his first Resolutions, meet not with Success, he will, by so much the more acknowledge and esteem the Prudence

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dence of that Courtier, who foresaw the approaching Misfortune, when it was yet avoidable.

If you be prest to deliver your Opinion in an unlawful Matter, either seek some Pretence of Delay, or else intreat that some third Person may be called, for the better discussing of the Business, whereby the Case being more maturely weighed, it may appear what is most for the Dignity and Safety of the Prince. By this means *Burrus* defeated *Nero's* first Attempt against his Mother's Life, ' Promising that ' himself would kill her if she were ' found guilty ; but since it was afforded unto every other Person, a ' Trial could not be denied unto his ' Mother.' Whilst the Examinations are taking, *Nero's* Fury asswages, and his Fears grow less, so that his Determination, tho' it was not quite altered, yet it was laid aside to another Time.

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But this Manner of Proceeding takes not Place upon all Occasions, being proper only in desperate and ambiguous Cases. Moreover, before we adventure upon it, we ought to know whether the Nature of the Prince is compatible with Delays; for there are some so headstrong and impatient, that there is no Means more certain of incurring their Displeasure, than by using Delays.

CHAP. IX.

The sudden Resolution of Princes, how to be moderated.

WHEN (as it often falls out) our Advice is not asked in the Resolution, but for the Manner of executing what is resolved upon already, if the Business do seem inconsistent with Reason and Honesty, we must propose

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propose the remotest Means we can think of for the effecting of it, and countenance this our Advice with the Pretences of Facility, Equity and Security; shewing withal, that sudden Undertakings are full of Hazard and Difficulty. When we have to do with those impatient kind of Princes, we ought to be ready, and have always our Wits about us for these sudden Occasions, and then, if they be not unsufferably rash and wilful, no doubt but they will follow that Course, which we shall demonstrate to be most safe and easie: Yet if their Madnes be such, that they will not hear mild and gentle Counsels, his Adviser may yet excuse this his wary Prudence with a Care and Affection to the Prince; desiring rather, that Things should be done slowly with Security, then rashly with the Ruine of his Master.

Now, if so be, that in that headlong Course that the Prince hath wilfully chosen, Difficulties or Straits do occur,

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occur, he will much more reflect upon the Prudence of him that would have dissuaded him in Time, and, perhaps, for the future, be willing to hearken to him, propounding milder Ways. Besides, this gaining of Time doth frequently afford Subject of moderating the Prince's Passion, and of bridling his Desires, or else of letting him see, that what he is about, is either wholly impossible, or else cannot be effected without great Absurdity.

For it often happens, that the Ways which Princes propose unto themselves, are accompanied with such Circumstances of Difficulty as are not be overcome; and to these kind of Straits, as I would not have you exhort him, so I would not have you too much dissuade him from them, (rather suffer him with a respective Silence to take his own Course, least you dissuading out of these difficult Ways, he seek out some more easie one of compassing his Will;) which otherwise having
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toil'd himself out of Breath amongst the Obstacles that he met with, he would voluntarily give the Business over. But sometimes it falls out, that Princes commit the Execution of some Wickedness or Injustice to an honest Man: In which Case truly (tho' all good Men ought to suffer any Violence or Misfortune, rather than consent to be made the Ministers of Villainy) I fear the Number of these is very few, that are so generously resolved, as by a passive Disobedience to expose themselves to be the Sacrifice for another; especially if the Occasion offered, and the Nature of the Prince admit of no Denial or Excuse, nor afford any Way of casting that displeasing Employment upon some third Person.

Which latter Course *Burrus* took, *Nero* resolving the second Time upon his Mother's Murther, full of so much the more Care and Eagerness, by how much the Danger of her contrived Shipwreck

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Shipwreck in the *Tyber* had produced no other Effect, than that the Woman always before malicious and greedy of Revenge, was, after so great an Injury, become more enraged than ever.

Burrus and *Seneca*, being call'd to Counsel, stood long ambiguous and doubtful what to say, as *Tacitus* reports, *Annal* 14. saying, ' They were ' both of them a long time silent, fearing least they should dissuade in vain: ' At last *Seneca*, hitherto the forwarder Man, cast his Eye upon *Burrus*, as if he would have asked, whether the Execution of that Murther should not be left to the Soldiers? *Burrus* prevented him with an Answer, and says, that the *Prætorian* Bands were all devoted to *Cæsar's* House, and so mindful of *Germanicus*, that they would act nothing of Cruelty against his Progeny; and therefore that *Anicetus* should perform his Promise.' So he freed both himself and his Soldiers from the Execution of that ugly Act.

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I confess, he is not beholding unto you, whom, to save your self innocent, you shall entangle in such an Employment: But should such an Occasion happen, I think it fitter that some such Man as *Anicetus* was, should undergo the Infamy of such an Act, than any vertuous or honest Man.

Yet the safest Way of all is in Time to foresee, and in their Birth to prevent, and occur to the unjust Desires, and the unlawful Designs of the Prince, and before they either take root, or appear above Ground, to suppress and pull them up. There are many, who with seasonable and gentle Admonitions, and silken Words, as *Parasites* calls them, have done much Good, and had wonderful Success in these Cases; yet it is necessary, that whoever would use such Remedies as these, be of great Authority with the Prince, who must hear as much out of Reverence as Love: And, nevertheless, when all is done, tho' it may succeed

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succeed well in this or that Case, it will hardly do so in all. I am much pleased with the way of those Men, who are of a conceited and pleasant Humour, and for that Faculty, acceptable with the Prince; who, as it were, intending something else, with a fit Similitude, or a well chosen Story, will represent unto the Prince the Danger and Foulness of those Counsels, wherewith he seems to be carried headlong away.

But to do this, there is a great Nimbleness of Wit, and Pleasantness of Discourse required; besides, they must take heed that the Prince smell not out, that himself is the Argument of the Jest. As *Tiberius*, who in the Tragedy of *Atreus*, composed by *Scaurus*, believed he was reproached of his Brother's Murder; and *Domitian*, in that which *Helvidius* had writ of *Paris* and *OEnone*, thought himself upbraided with his Divorces: Wherefore it is necessary, that these kind of Sto-

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ries be skilfully interwoven, amongst other Things, not squaring or applicable to the Prince ; and it is very pertinent to this purpose, That they take care not to inculcate too plainly, that Matter, which makes most to the Purpose; tho', least it should quite escape the Prince's Observation, it may be, as it were, by a casual Repetition iterated. The Conceit and Continuance of the Story, by how much the greater and more chearful it is, by so much the more it will imprint those Things that are said ; and because they seem to come by Chance, not of Purpose or Design, they will not distaste the ticklish Ear of the Prince.

For this kind of Moderation, whereby you may neither contribute to the Prince's Vices, nor in vain resist them ; there are many critical Times and Means, which those that attend upon the Persons, and are employed in the Affairs of Princes, cannot but meet with. If so be that the Case be such,
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that you must needs contradict the Disposition and Inclination of the Prince, you must seek out some other Passion or Humour in him, whereunto he is equally enclined, and so beget a Strife and Contention in the Prince's Mind; but we must carefully pretend still, that what we say, comes from the Duty and Reverence that we bear him. By this Means did *Mutianus* keep *Domitian* in Order, and hinder him from joining with *Cerealis*, as (out of what Hopes I know not) he was about to do, says *Tacitus*, Hist. 4.

C H A P. X.

*The several Natures and Tempers
of Princes, how to be handled;
with the Art of Courtiers in
Introducing their Companions.*

YET to do these Things successfully, it doth much conduce, that we know the Inclinations of our Princes, which depend upon the natural Temperature of their Bodies. The Difference and Variety of which is common to them with other Men; except, that as they are more powerful than others, so they are less Masters of their Affections and Inclinations; which are for the most part, more violent and more unreasonable in them than in meaner Persons.

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lover of Ceremony and Respect; a fore Enemy to those that are but in the least sort refractory; impatient in Execution, and rash in Resolution; a Contemner of all Mens Opinions that differ from his own; very apt to commit Injuries, yet soon Friends with those he hath wronged, if they renew not the Memory of passed Enmities, but a Hater of those that rip up old Offences: and to the end he may prevent such as he is afraid of, he watches all Occasions of doing them a greater Mischief.

Whoever hath to do with such a Prince, must always have his Eyes and Ears open, that he may readily understand and obey the first Beck, without making any Reply or Delay, least by Contradiction the Prince come to suspect him of Arrogance, as one that would seem to think himself wiser than he; let him not stick to submit himself to the lowest kind of Employments, if need be, tho' they suit not with his Condition. He must be pa-

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tient of Injuries, and no ways mindful of them, but after a Wrong, so much the more officious: He must not brag of his Merits, least he should seem to reproach the Prince with them, but rather heap Services upon Services, least the Memory of those that are past should wear out, and to the end, the Pleasure and Gratefulness of fresh ones may revive the Remembrance of the old. When the Prince is angry, let him not come near him, for all Things displease him then; neither are those that are dearest unto him, grateful in any thing they can devise, to say or do. Familiarity with such Humours as these, turns into Contempt; which for that Reason, altho' the Prince invite us to it, is to be avoided: Let all Things rather tend to Modesty and Respect. For these Lions, tho' sometimes they be meek and gentle, are at other Times enraged against those they love best, and who are in most Authority with them.

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They that are of a Sanguine Constitution, are for the most part of a pleasant Humour, lovers of Mirth and Recreation; flying Sadness, the Seriousness of Business, and Trouble of Debates; lovers of Peace, leaving the Administration of their Affairs to others, in whom they suffer nothing more unwillingly than Complaints. They are courteous, gentle, and free, if not from all, at least from any grievous Injuries; more mindful of Benefits received from others, than done by themselves; complacent, willing to help, and for the most part liberal.

He that lives with such as these, must omit no Circumstances of Veneration and Respect, but very seldom must they treat of Business or serious Affairs. Those that are employed in the greatest and most important Offices and Concernments of the Kingdom, ought not to come near these Princes, before they be either called, or certain

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that the Prince is not engaged in any Recreation; least otherwise they should interrupt him in his greatest Delights, and make him blush to be surprised by those, who, he may apprehend, are secretly angry to see him no better entertained: For so, when *Philip* of *Macedon* was once at play, it was told him, That *Antipater* was at the Door, who being presently troubled, and conscious of his Transgression, hid his Dice under his Pillow, blushing that *Antipater* should catch him at that Sport. Therefore with such a Prince, as those, that manage the greatest Affairs of the Kingdom, in serious and weighty Trusts do exceed others; so also are they outgone by others in a familiar and free Access to the Prince's Person, who naturally avoids these kind of serious Men as much as may be. Those Men that are of a jovial and well-tempered Disposition, and capable as well of Pleasure as of Business, are chiefly acceptable to these kind of Princes; provided,

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vided, that whilst they are out of the Prince's Sight, they do not with too much Facility and Complacance lose their Authority with others; but they must preserve the Honour of their Rank entire, for without that (as the Proverb says) *Familiarity breeds Contempt*, and Contempt gives Encouragement to Quarrels upon the first Appearance of an Injury: Which the Prince, being an Enemy to Trouble and Strife, to free himself of, will endeavour to remove him that shall appear most faulty.

A melancholy Prince is slow in his Counsels, Anxious, Thoughtful, Diffident, Jealous, Witty, and for the most part Peevish; given to Silence, and when he speaks, involving himself in ambiguous Words; a Dissembler, apt rather to sound other Mens Opinions, than deliver his own; an Enemy of Jest and Freedom; a lover of Solitude, difficult of Access; a Friend to few, and to those but coldly; prone

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to Hatred, out of Diffidence, an inseparable Companion unto him; covetous and fearful, even to Absurdity; one that hates equally those that he hath offended, with those that have offended him; implacably greedy of Revenge, and whom, tho' reconciled unto you, you ought to be jealous of.

With these kind of Dispositions we cannot deal with too much Wariness and Circumspection: Principally we must take care of our Tongues, and call, as it were, a Council, upon every thing we say; to the end we may speak nothing strange or offensive, nor indeed, scarce at all, unless we be called upon. In our Respect, we must rather exceed than fall short, and altogether abstain from Contradiction, without pressing him when he demurs in his Counsels, least his Melancholy once kindled into Choler, never quench till it convert to Hatred. In our Demands we must not be importunate, when we see him deny us readily; for it is not convenient

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convenient to accustom the Prince to give us Repulses, especially such a Prince, who being by his Nature prone to ill Suspitions, will think that Man his Enemy that he hath given a Refusal unto; neither will you easily afterward, by any Skill, take this Apprehension out of him, for with such, the Memory of an Injury endures long; and measuring others by themselves, they believe all Men as malicious and as obstinate in their Hatred as they. In short, these kind of Men are the worst, and most difficult of all others, and whose Temper, by Reason of the Variety of cloudy Thoughts, that hover in their dark Imaginations, is most unequal, which makes their Conversation exceeding troublesome.

The Phlegmatick Prince participates of the Heaviness and Slowness of the Melancholy; but as in Understanding, so in Peevishness and Distrust, is inferior to him; for his Heart is, as it were, congealed with Cold, and hence
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it comes to pass, that he is diffident of none so much as of himself, fearing to undertake great Matters, because he despairs of the Success, and knows not how to go about 'em. He is doubtful in his Counsels, fearful in Execution, not of a quick Capacity; and as his Hate is not great, so his Love is not vehement.

To supply the Heaviness of these Princes, an active and ready Minister is necessary. When the Prince hath once found him capable to effect those Things that himself thought desperate, discovering the Weakness of his own Wit; he loves, admires, and cherishes this Man, as necessary unto him: And that kind of Favour which leans upon the Opinion of such a Necessity, is of all others most durable. Which our Courtier once observing, let him make it his Business to bring to a prosperous Issue those Businesses that seemed most difficult, and from which the Prince expected little or no Success;

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Succes : as it was the constant Practice of that great Minister of *France*, Cardinal *Richlieu*, who always kept the King intangled in such dangerous Undertakings, that if he would, he knew not how to be without him.

Let our Courtier also, if it can be contrived, compass these Things, and execute the most material part of his Business himself alone, taking heed, however he do, that he take not to his Assistance a Helper or Companion, more habile and dextrous than himself : Withal, let him beware he be not too long absent from Court, least he chance to lose the Prince, who, if he shall once find one more able or useful than him, he will be either less valued, or at least be held less necessary ; and so being laid aside once or twice, in Employments that shall succeed in other Hands, will at last fall into Contempt.

Wherefore it is an old Art of Courtiers, not to take unto themselves any
Companions,

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Companions, but such as in Vertue and Prudence they shall much excel, to the end, that in Comparifon of these, their own Lustre may so much the more appear, and that the Prince, being furrounded with such as these, may not easily know where to find one, whom he may either prefer or oppose unto the Introducer of these. Moreover, these grosser Souls, as often as he hath need of them, to whom they do now their present, and may owe their future Advancement, are easie and obnoxious to be debauched by him, and ready for Corruption, which he cannot easily expect from one that is his Equal in Condition, or in Parts, and who stands upon his own Legs. These are the several Kinds of humane Inclinations, whereunto Princes are no less subject than other Men, inclining now to this, and then to that Side, according to the Prevalence of this or that Temperature in them.

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C H A P. XI.

*That Age, Business, Custom, and
Sickness, alter the Temper of
the Bodies and Constitution of
the Minds of Princes.*

Notwithstanding that for the most part Things are thus, yet these Rules are not Infallible and without Exception ; for Age, Custom, and Business, alter the Temper of the Bodies, yea, and the Inclinations and Actions of Princes. In the Time of War, the Prince cherishes Military Men, but Peace being returned into his Kingdom, the Authority and Interest of these Men doth soon wax old ; and then, if the Prince enclines to Pleasure, or any other Affection, he will be apt to sooth those that can serve or further him in it.

See

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See what *Tacitus* writes of *Tiberius*, Annal 6. ‘ He changed his Manners strangely with the Times : whilst
 ‘ he was a private Man, and under *Augustus* his Government, both his Life
 ‘ and Manners were of good Repute :
 ‘ as long as *Germanicus* and *Drusus*
 ‘ lived, he was close and crafty in
 ‘ counterfeiting Vertue : as long as his
 ‘ Mother was alive, he kept a mean
 ‘ betwixt Vertue and Vice : For Cru-
 ‘ elty he was infamous ; but for his
 ‘ Lusts, as long as he either loved or
 ‘ feared *Sejanus*, secret. But in the
 ‘ end, he burst out into all Wicked-
 ‘ nefs and Dishonesty, and casting a-
 ‘ way both Fear and Shame, he suf-
 ‘ fered himself to be carried wholly
 ‘ by his vicious Inclinations.

Of *Caligula* this Judgment of *Passi-
 enus* is very notable, *There was never
 a better Servant, nor a worse Master.*
 It is almost incredible, what Variety
 of Dispositions were found in *Marius*
 and *Sylla* ; so that *Plutarch* doubts whe-
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ther Fortune wrought this Change in their Natures, or only brought to light what before of Wickedness lay concealed in them. In which Case, if I should speak my Opinion, I would declare, I thought they did not change their Natures, but only pull off those Masks, that Fear, and a narrow Fortune had muffled them withal. Just as *Leontius* said of *Zeno*, ' That a
' Serpent frozen with Cold, hurts not ;
' but warm'd by the Fire, thrusts forth
' his Sting.

Tryphon, as *Josephus* witnesses, whilst he led a private Life, to win upon the People, did personate a good Man; but being made a King, he threw off his Disguises, and quickly let them see, that all that Vertue which appeared in him, was forced and counterfeit : And that of *Agamemnon* is not much unlike, if what *Euripides* writes of him be true; he was modest, affable, and easie of Access, before he was chosen *Generalissimo* of the *Greeks* :
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But after that Election, he became an Enemy to his Friends, and inaccessible to all, in keeping himself shut up, whereby he became so distasteful, that the Precept the Poet gives upon this Occasion, is worth Recording.

*Those Men are wise, that great Advancement gain,
And still their ancient Modesty retain.*

An excellent Sentence, but observed by few. *Pollio* truly seemed to follow it, if we may believe *Seneca*. ‘ Afterwards (*said he*) being promoted to the highest Degrees of Honour, he never was corrupted by any Occasion, or deviated a whit from his former Modesty, Temperance, and Civility: he was never puffed up with Prosperity, nor with the Variety of Business was he so disordered, as that any one could surprize him in a Humour derogating from the Reputation he had gained before.

For

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For truly, the Defects and Blemishes of Princes and Courtiers, proceed, for the most part, out of Pride, the inseparable Handmaid of Greatness. This is that which makes them despise other Mens Counsels, being vainly perswaded, that they do excel other Men, as much in Prudence as they do in Power. And some are so carried away with this Stream, that they think it below them to keep within the Limits of Law or Reason, believing they cannot be Princes to whom all Things are not lawful they have a mind unto, according to that of the Poet,

*Vertue, Truth, Faith, such private
Things as these,
Are not for Kings, they must do what
they please.*

But if these kind of Opinions did only corrupt the weakest and worst of Princes, I should wonder the less; but I see the Minds of the best Men to be
blinded

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blinded also with the Witchcraft of Power and Rule. No Man ever yet exceeded the Seven Sages of *Greece*, in giving Precepts of Modesty; nor ever were there worse Tyrants than such of them as came to Government. *Appianus* being to speak of *Aristo*, reckoned up not a few that bore the Name of Philosophers, that had play'd the Tyrants at *Athens*; naming also some of the very *Pythagoreans*, who being called to Government in *Italy*, did exceedingly abuse their Power: Which makes me doubt much, whether most of those Philosophers, who so proudly contemn Honours and Dignity, do it in good Earnest, or not rather for a Cloak and Cover to their small Deserts, their Poverty and Idleness. Surely, if we will believe *Aristophanes*, they did not live so frugally and nearly, so much out of Vertue as Necessity; and would not refuse to feast plentifully whenever they were invited.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

How much Impostors are able to do by Flattering Princes; and how a Prince is to beware of them.

There are oftentimes Impostors, who with Flatteries, and hidden Suggestions, creep in the Prince's Bosom, and corrupt his Nature. To these kind of Men doth *Tacitus* impute the Pride and Cruelty of *Vitellius*. *Vespasian*, who was of a gentle Nature, learn'd from these People to oppress his Subjects with heavy Tributes, as the same *Tacitus* affirms: In short, it is certain, that many who have used the Service of these kind of Men, have sadly degenerated. These Impostors seek Favour unto themselves, by showing the Prince Ways to Greatness,

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ness, Power and Profit ; who by so much the more willingly doth hearken to them, by how much the less he understands himself. He, poor Man, not reflecting, nor observing that these Men praise and soothe him, to the end they may at last betray him to Contempt, and expose him to the Hatred of his People. And truly, to humour and comply with the Cruelty, Covetousness, and Lust of a Prince, is of all others the securest Way to betray him, for he cannot condemn the Traitor, without discovering his own Guilt and Vices.

The *Franconians*, by the help of *Agidius*, at that time governing in *Gaul* for the *Romans*, had expelled *Clodius Comatus* out of his Kingdom, whom one of his Friends desiring to see restored, goes over to *Agidius*, and fostered, upon all Occasions, as much as in him lay, the Avarice and Cruelty of the Man, which was but too notorious before ; whence the Injuries

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of this *Roman* growing insufferable, the *Franconians* begin to wish for their King again, and at last recal him to his Kingdom. Thus this honest *Franconian* made good use of his Flattery, and by feeding him in his own Vices, betrayed his Master's Enemies. *Sejanus*, who gaped after the *Roman* Empire, (see what Arts he used) after he saw that *Tiberius*, who by his Advice had imprisoned *Agrippina* and her Children, grew weary of the City, spurr'd that Inclination on, hoping, that when the Prince was once retired, the Trust and Government of the Empire should be cast upon him, as indeed it came to pass; so that for a Time, *Tiberius* was only Lord of a little Island, and *Sejanus* Emperor. *Perrennius* also thirsting after the Empire, first circumvented and made away all those that stood in his Light, under Pretence of a Conspiracy, that *Lucilla* had contrived against *Commodus*; and then entices the Emperor to Pleasures, where-
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by he himself might come to the managing of all Things, and at last attain unto the Empire.

The same Way took *Bardas*, Uncle to *Michael*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, who having taken away *Theodistus*, his Associate, and Tutor to the young Prince, contrived also his Mother's Banishment, perswading *Michael* to take the Government into his own Hands, whose young Years, incapable of Rule, he soon diverted to Delights and Pleasure, so as he gave himself wholly to these Entertainments, and intended nothing else. *Bardas*, in the mean time, fishes eagerly after the Love of the People, and to that end, converses with good and learned Men, restored Learning in the City, and made many good Laws; by which means he would doubtless have stepped at last into the Imperial Throne, if another had not prevented him. I do not bring these Examples, that I may teach how Princes are to be circumvented, but

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but that I would have Princes themselves learn hence what Prudence and Caution is necessary for them, to discern and distinguish the Counsels of their Ministers; and chiefly, that they may beware of those, who are apt to soothe them in, and applaud their Lusts and Vices, and learn to think well of such as will sometimes modestly adventure to express their Dislikes of their Excesses.

CHAP. XIII.

*Of the Familiars and Servants
of the Prince, and the Ways
to win them.*

Having considered all Things that our Courtier was to observe in the Prince himself, let us come to his Servants, who, by reason of the Offices they bear, are continually a-

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bout his Person, and may be useful to those that pretend at Court, either by procuring them extraordinary Accesses, or by making seasonable mention of them, or by instructing them of the Ways, Times, and Occasions of doing their Business. There are many Princes, who being private, put on a quite other Face than that they bear in publick; and who more willingly do trust and disclose their Thoughts to such of their Servants as they think faithful to them, esteeming the Lowness of their Condition incapable of Treachery, or wicked Practices: Who does not know, that *Claudius* was governed by his Freedmen, one of which, called *Pallas*, he had so enrich'd, that upon a Time, complaining of Poverty to some Body, he was advised to get *Pallas* adopt him for his Heir. By this Man's Perswasion, *Claudius* married *Agrippina*, after, by the help of *Narcissus*, (a Freedman also) he had destroyed *Messalina*.

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Who can be ignorant, that during the Continuance of the Eastern Empire, the Eunuchs many times governed all? If that had not been so, it had been impossible for *Arbetio*, the chief Ruler of the Empire, to have escaped with Life, when *Verissimus* accused him. *Borilus* and *Germanus*, two Slaves, by the absolute Authority they had with *Botoniates*, one of the Emperors, made him an Enemy to *Isacius* and *Alexius Commenis*.

Yet let us suppose, That the Prince does not impart his Counsels to these Men, they are more easily pried into by these than any others: For it cannot be, that Princes always wear their Masks in private; oftentimes the Throng, and a publick Life, makes him suppress and hide those Affections, which, when he is at liberty, and in private, do break out. Wherefore, I conclude it is very necessary in Courts, to think all kind of Men, even the meanest, useful unto you. And we

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must believe for certain, that together with their Authority and Fortune, their Prudence and Discretion will grow up ; which *Arrian* demonstrates to *Epictetus*, in *Epaphroditus* and his two Slaves : The one of which coming to wait upon the Emperor at his Stool, and the other to have the Charge of his Shoes ; *Epaphroditus* himself, who had sold them not long before as unuseful, sought now their Favour, and praised their Prudence.

Fortune hath scarce ever been so favourable to any one in Court, as not to afford him as many Enemies as Friends ; neither hath it ever yet cast any Man so low there, as that he was neither able to hurt nor help another : Whence it was, that in the Time of *Tiberius*, as *Tacitus* says, *It was a great Honour to be known to Sejanus's Door-keepers.* It will therefore be a wise Man's Part, by all becoming Ways to endear the Servants of the Prince, whatever their Condition be.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIV.

*Four Kinds of noble Courtiers ;
how to be handled and made
use of; how warily we ought
to deal with inconstant Princes.*

FROM the Prince's Servants, we come to the Nobles of the Court, which are of sundry Kinds: There are some illustrious for their Birth; but destitute of the Prince's Favour; others in Favour with the Prince, but not laden with Honours; a third Sort, that have Honours and Offices far exceeding their Interest and Favour; and lastly, Those who flourish both in Favour and great Employments. The Friendship of the first of these, will perhaps avail our Courtier very little, who are nevertheless to be honoured and respected, according to their Quality;

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lity ; least, tho' they cannot hurt you themselves ; by their Friends and Followers they should do it ; for in such Trains of Dependencies and Followers, great Families are often very powerful, either by reason of old Benefits, or Reverence to their Greatness ; or lastly, (since Princes Minds are mutable) out of respect to the Fortune and Favour these great Men may yet chance to come into, with this or the succeeding Prince.

Archelaus, King of *Cappadocia*, to his great Disadvantage, did neglect to honour and court *Tiberius* when he came to *Rhodes* ; for *Tiberius*, afterwards meditating Revenge, but pretending another Cause, called him to *Rome*, where he perished miserably : Which Respect, nevertheless, the Historian says, ' He omitted not out of Pride, but
' for that he was warned by some of
' *Augustus's* Favourites, that whilst
' *Caius Caesar* flourished, and was sent
' into the East, the Friendship of *Ti-*
' *berius*

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'*berius* seemed unsafe.' We must look therefore upon these great Men of Fortune, tho' not able to deserve well of us, yet powerful enough to hurt us : And tho' they be unacceptable and suspected by the Prince, we must yet reverence them, to avoid the Blame of others, and their Enmity.

If it chance that the Prince will oppose you to one of these great Ones, as it is usual with Princes to do ; as you must not refuse the Task, so you must with great Art, Dexterity, and Choice of Occasions, undertake it ; taking care that you may both satisfy the Prince, and justify your Endeavours to other Men : It is an Enterprize full of Danger, but if at the Prince's Instance, it be taken in hand, it is the Way to rise.

Yet after you are once engaged in one of these Brigues, there are the choice of two Ways to be taken, according to the Nature of the Prince you act for, the Persons you have to

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do with, and the Times you are in : Some Men act all these Things in their own Name so boldly, and with so high a Hand, that all kind of Men, except those that are great indeed, strike easily Sail unto them, for fear of offending the Prince, who approves (as they believe) all these Men say or do. There are others yet, that take another Course more safe and sweet, by continually waiting upon the Prince, their Interest in whom they will make no Shew of, but upon the best Opportunities ; neither will they take any Occasion for these Contentions, but such as with great Choice they have selected, as both likely to succeed ; and having took effect, to redound much to the Advantage of the Prince and Publick.

For you must take great heed you undertake nothing you cannot go thro' with ; for besides that, the common People judge of all Things by the Event, believing still, that Justice and Prudence

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Prudence are on the Side that Fortune is ; by ill Successes you will soon diminish the Esteem and Favour you have with the Prince. For he, to take away the Disgrace received, and by reason that he fears either to be despised of his Subjects, or contemned by his Enemies, whom he hath opposed in vain, will be compelled to remove his Favour from, and abandon you.

Beware, that when I speak of your Contention with these great Persons, that you understand not, that I wish you to intermeddle, when you see it cannot be done without Tumult, or that you should provoke them with Contumelies and Reproaches, for that becomes only a base Soul, whose Judgment is corrupted by Fortune: The end of which kind of Men is seldom happy, as is to be observed in *Piso*, whom *Tiberius* sent into *Syria*, to cross the Hopes and Designs of *Germanicus*, against whom he carried himself so insolently,

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solently, that when Prince *Germanicus* was dead, *Cæsar* was compelled to sacrifice and abandon *Piso* to the publick Hate.

When I advise you to oppose these great Men, it is in Cases only wherein they are to do something that is unjust, or against the publick Good, or Religion, or that is prejudicial to the Government of the Army, or the Treasures of the Kingdom: In which Occasions, you must so comport yourself with Prudence and Modesty, that all others that are concerned, and all honest Men may perceive, that what you do, proceeds not out of any private Enmity, but only from your Zeal to the publick Good. If you demand an Example to imitate, behold Cardinal *Ximenes*, chosen by *Isabella*, Queen of *Castile*, on purpose to tug with those Grandees that were not so subject to the King's Pleasure, as they are now: Of a *Franciscan* Friar, he was first made the Queen's Confessor, afterwards, by the

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the Advice of Cardinal *Mendoza*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, and Inquisitor General of *Spain*; which Offices he bore with great Authority, being there during the whole Reign of *Isabella* and *Ferdinand*, and was even to the Time of *Charles V.* the sole Arbiter and Moderator of all Affairs; ever contending with the great Ones, but so discreetly, that he always held both the Prince and People fast unto him.

It is reported, that he was poisoned, and he himself suspected it, but the Fact could never be proved. Wherefore it is better to attribute so late a Death as his (for he was very old) to Age and Nature; and not without Reason, since he preserved his Fortune and Authority (both which he owed principally to his own Industry) entire unto his End. *Chico Simoneta* had not so good Success, who whilst *Francis Sforza* ruled in *Milan*, was called to the Helm of Business, and afterwards chosen by young *Galea-*
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cius's Mother, by reason of his known Fidelity and Experience in publick Affairs, to contend with his Master's Brethren. He, to preserve the Dukedom for *Galeacius*, banish'd *Galeacius's* Brothers, and *Robert de St. Severin* out of *Milan*, with how much Envy you may imagine. Yet see how wickedly he was afterwards deserted, for the Widow, *Galeacius* his Mother, reconciling her self with her Adversaries, sacrificed *Simone* to their new Friendship; by whom being cast into Prison, and there slay'd alive, he died miserably. Learn hence, how warily we must trust Princes, of whose Steadiness we are not assured; for often, upon a light Occasion, they are wont to prostitute their Servants to the Will of their Enemies.

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C H A P. XV.

The Three other Kinds of Noble Courtiers ; how they are to be dealt with.

THere are a second Kind of Noble Courtiers (as I said before) who are in Favour with the Prince, and yet not very eminent in any Dignity or Employment. These, tho' they can contribute nothing else unto us, may make our Way unto the King seasonable and easie ; besides, they may be useful in calling to Mind our Deserts, or, if Occasion require, in excusing our Errors ; protecting us also from the Calumny and Detractions of our Enemies ; by which Means, if they be really our Friends, they may serve us highly ; as on the contrary Side, if they be our Foes, they may prejudice

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prejudice us exceedingly: Wherefore we must seek the Friendship of these Men by all Means that are not unworthy our Condition; and we must consider, that they seldom stay any long time about a Prince, unexalted to Honour. Nay, suppose that for some Reason or other they be not advanced, yet by their Help and Commendations they do advance their Friends, and lift them up above others, tho' either equal or superior to them in Desert.

The third Sort of Nobles, are those who are in great Offices of Authority, and have a great Share in publick Business, and yet have little Interest in the Prince's Favour. And these Kind of Men are chiefly found about such Princes who live quietly, attending to their Pleasures, mindless of publick Business, which they commit wholly to one or two of their tried Servants, abhorring the Trouble that is attending it themselves. In such a Court as
this,

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this, we must rather seek the Favour of these Ministers, than of the Prince himself, who since he trusts them with the Administration of his Affairs, leaves also the Choice of his Officers to these Men, being himself unfit to chuse Men for Duties, which he knows nothing what belongs unto.

There are other Princes more jealous of their Majesty, and sparing in their Power, who tho' they intrust one or two with their Affairs, do seldom or never admit those Men to their Presence or Conversation, but when they are to treat of weighty Business; and do not leave the Disposal of Places to them, for fear that by the Multitude of Creatures and Dependants, their Power should swell to that Height, that it cannot be abated if they transgress. Wary Princes are wont to keep their Ministers in awe, and make them believe, that they can in a Moment cast them from all their Authority, and divest them of all that Power that with
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the Services and Labours of many Years they have been acquiring; towards such Persons as these, whose Power is thus circumscribed, you will have a hard Task how to demean yourself: Their Friendship can avail you little; nay, perhaps, if the Prince observe it, it will do you Hurt. Again, if they stand in your Light, you will hardly come to the Management of Affairs, and yet you must of Necessity run the Hazard of Clashing oftentimes with them. Wherefore, a most circumspect Gentleness of Nature will here be needful, for you must render them all the Duties of Respect, and as Occasion presents it self (yet warily) express the inward Devotion of your Mind unto them. But in the meanwhile, without openly seeking to, or relying upon the Patronage of any other, you must your self work out your Way unto the Prince's Person and his Favour.

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There remains now unspeke of only, the last Kind of Noblemen, who are, in short, the Favourites, as being both highly in the Prince's Favour, and great in the Administration of Affairs: Which Kind of Men are to be honoured with a Respect almost equal to the Prince himself. Their Wills and Inclinations are to be pried into, as being more necessary to be known and executed than the Prince's own. Here you see what you may expect or hope for from the Authority and Patronage of the Peers and Grandees of the Court, and how you may use each of them in his several Degree and Kind.

Truly, we must carefully take heed that we ask nothing of either the Prince, or any of all these, that is impossible, or cannot be effected without great Absurdity; for nothing is more troublesome to humane Nature, than not to be able to fulfil the Requests of those we love; and surely, the friendliest
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and gentlest Dispositions that are, will be offended with an uncivil and unreasonable Suit. Know, moreover, that he from whom you have received such a Repulse, is not pleased with seeing you again, for fear lest with the Impudence of a like Request, you should make him ashamed; and also, lest he should seem to want Authority or Means to perform what you desire. But you must note by the way, that Access unto the great Ones, is not suddenly obtained, we must by Degrees also gain that; and to this end, all that have any Interest in them, whether they be Strangers or Domesticks, and the Dependants of these (according to their Usefulness) are to be won unto you.

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C H A P. XVI.

*The meaner Sort of Courtiers,
how they are to be handled;
as also such as are Enemies to
us for the sake of others, to
whom we relate.*

THere are yet in Courts, below these great Ones, others of a lower Stage; some of which are our Betters, others our Equals, and some perhaps our Inferiors; all which, since we are to make use of, we will divide into two Kinds: The first, of those that may help and advantage us; the second, of those that are likely or able to hurt us. The Interest and Power of both of them, is diligently to be weighed, to the end we may gather what Help or Impediment we are to expect from them. We must consider also their
Friendships

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Friendships and Alliances, to the end, that if Necessity press us to seek their Votes for the Promotion of our Designs, if they themselves are thro' Envy or any such Respect, backward or averse unto us, we may work upon them by their Friends and Dependants: But we must be sure to take heed, that we do not then begin to seek their Friendship, when we have apparent need of them or their Assistance, we ought to have it prepared long before, and assured unto us by the Pledges of a long professed Kindness and Good-will. Let this suffice for the first Sort, (to wit, of those that may help us) for every Man's Industry will prompt him, how to insinuate with such as he finds may be useful unto him.

Of the second Sort (to wit) those that may hurt us, there are three Kinds; either those that are our Enemies, or those that envy us; or lastly, those that are our Competitors. Those I call Enemies, that hate us for our own or

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our Friends sake; but this latter kind of Hatred is not for the most part so inveterate and sharp as the first; and it may be mitigated much by our Civilities, and professing, That we can love our Friends, notwithstanding our Relation to their Enemies: Yet the Friendships of the Court are for the most part factious and cruel, compelling us to break off all Friendship and Familiarities that may bring us into Suspicion: For which Reason, many publicly pretending a friendship to one, have, notwithstanding, complied underhand, and kept fair quarter with the Adverse Party; not out of design to betray their Friend, but to the end, if he should chance to fall, they may find a Refuge and Support. And truly, this Care of our Preservation may be sometimes Blameless, but all kind of Treachery is unworthy an Honest Man.

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This Kind of Prudence hath not only been practised in the Brigues of the Court, but in Kingdoms also, and that very fortunately. *Syenneses*, President of *Tharsus*, when the War broke out between *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*, fearing to resist *Cyrus*, took his Part in Person, and sent his Son to *Artaxerxes*, to the end, that if *Cyrus* were vanquished, he might be a Refuge to his Father. *Bardus Durus* escaping out of the Hands of the *Saracens*, where he was Prisoner, seeing *Phocas* created Emperor against *Basilus*, applied himself to gain the Friendship of *Phocas*, hitherto his Enemy, and followed him, but caused his Son, with a contrived Flight, to take part with *Basilus*, to the end, that if *Phocas* were vanquished, he might intercede for his Father, as it afterwards fell out. *Solon* made a Law, That in case of a civil Discord in the Commonwealth, none should be permitted to stand neuter; not intending, I believe, that Friends taking several

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veral Sides, should break off their private Friendships, but rather hoping that Friends being severally engaged, could not but labour for the publick Peace, by so much the more eagerly, and with more Success.

After this manner, in Court, a Man, tho' of a different Faction, may yet discreetly, and without Prejudice to Integrity, retain his Friendship with a Man of another Party, to the end that he may both have a Retreat in the Change of Fortune, and that if their Animosities should begin to assuage, he may be a fit Instrument of Reconciliation between the Factions; which is the safest and most commendable Way amongst the Strifes and Discords of great Men, and the Means of gaining at last the Favour of both the contending Parties.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVII.

*How we are to treat with those
Enemies that hate us for our
own Sakes: Also concerning
Threats and Injuries.*

THose who hate us for our own Sakes, do so, either because we have offended them, or else (as it is frequent from great Men towards their Inferiors) because they have injured us; and the *Italian* Proverb says, *He that offends, never forgives.* It is a Custom amongst Minds, puffed up with a prosperous Fortune, to hate those themselves have wronged. The Injuries that these Kind of Men do us, are best remedied in our seeming not to understand them; but if it Chance, that the Greatness of the Wrong do wrest out of us some Testimony of our Sense

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Sense of the Injury received, we must quickly after our Grief is over, seem to have lost the Memory of all; otherwise, if they see us still impatiently suffer it, fearing our Revenge, they will seek to prevent us with a greater Mischief.

Chiefly we must beware of Threats, if we be not ready and sure to execute them, for Threats do both warn our Adversary to beware, and provoke his Hatred to double our Injuries, affording us nothing but Shame in seeming to breath Revenge, but to be destitute of Power. I know this Kind of Moderation will not be approved by all Kind of Men, especially such as are greedy after Vengeance, who think no Injury is to be passed over without Resentment, not only by Reason of the Sweetness that is found in Revenge, but also, because they say, by suffering one Injury you invite another; wherefore we must persecute those that offend us with an immortal

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Hate: But these Men, whilst they desire to render themselves formidable, do effect nothing else but make all Men fly their Company: For since we Mortals are Creatures prone to Falls and Slips, and are carried away sometimes with Affection, and at other times with Passion; and in Consideration every one for fear of offending, will fly from these kind of malignant, rash, and revengeful Persons; and as wild Beasts, leave them to their own Solitude, since, if any one offends one of them, he must expect all that Rage and Malice can afford at his Hands. Lastly, if any one provoke one of these malicious Hotspurs, he expecting a severe Resentment, and fearing a home Revenge, will strive to be aforehand with him.

For this Reason therefore, for the avoiding all these Evils, I think the contrary Way is to be chosen, and Gentleness to be preferred; which truly, in the greatest Injuries, is not hard

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hard to be personated, when we consider the Reasons and Consequences of a passionate Resentment, and the Condition of the Persons from whom we receive them. In lighter Injuries, that we see arise rather out of Passion than Malice or Design, we ought to be so little offended with them, that it may not be perceived we are sensible of them. If the Injury is great and foul, we must not show our selves wholly careless of our Esteem and Reputation; yet without seeming too implacable towards 'em that provoked us, as they may have Reason to think, there is no Hope of a Reconcilement, or Place for Pardon upon any reasonable Satisfaction left them. And therefore it will be pertinent in this case to complain unto his Friends, that hath injured us, of our Wrongs, and to make them judge of our Difference.

Injuries that are offered in a petulant, insulting Humour, I think ought to be presently vindicated, not so much out

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of a Desire of Revenge, as for the Chastisement of him that did them, and to teach him how to demean himself more modestly hereafter, as well towards others as our selves. But these Injuries also are not to be prosecuted with an inveterate Hatred; nay, we ought to declare, that the Necessity of Complaint, and seeking Revenge, is put upon us, and that we are ready to be Friends after a Satisfaction given us, that is any way compatible with the Injury we received. And if so be they give any secret Testimonies of Regret, or seek in the least manner unto us, we must return into Favour with them, and by way of Amends, let this suffice instead of a Submission, that they profess they cannot want your Friendship.

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CHAP. XVIII.

The Injuries of the more and less powerful, how to be avoided and managed; the several Artifices of Reconciliation.

BEcause these Kinds of Injuries are done, for the most part, by those that are much more powerful than our selves, and who have some way or other; great Advantage of us: The first way to avoid them, is to treat these kind of Men respectfully, and to avoid all Freedoms as much as may be with them: Or if they be very cross and unruly, to fly their Conversation altogether. This Saying of *Martial* is in this Case very notable.

*Wouldst thou avoid what may displease?
Or seek'st thou for Content and Ease?*

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With

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*With no Man be thou over free ;
As Joys, so Grievs will fewer be.*

The second Way will be, as I said more than once before, to seem unsensible of the Wrong ; for it is neither safe nor prudent for us to strive too much with one that is too powerful for us ; and the Inequality of our Forces will be a just Pretence to excuse our Dissimulation. I know there are some that are perswaded, That if we can but fright our Adversaries, they would soon seek unto us, and desire to be reconciled ; and I do not deny that there are some sly Dispositions that will descend to do so ; but believe me, it is always a dangerous, unsound, and faint Reconciliation : And these will seldom or never omit (if an Occasion of Injury present it self) to give way to their Disposition ; which is by so much the more revengeful, by how much their dissembling was the tamer ; besides, a private Enemy is harder to be taken heed

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heed of than one that is publicly so. It is better to have such as these our professed Enemies, than out of Fear, our reconciled Friends; yet I mean those who are not greater than our selves, nor whose Friendship being lost, can hurt us notably.

For if we have to do with one that is much superior to us, and whose Enmities will stand in our Light, it is better to have a feigned Friendship, than open Enmity with him; tho' he offer us the Wrong, yet we must endeavour by the Mediation of Friends to appease him, as if we had done the Injury. To discern who is most able and likely to prejudice us, we must consider not only their Power, but also the Nature of their Malice towards us; for some have a Desire of Revenge, like a Handmaid, always waiting upon their Hate; others a Fear, lest that having got what we aspire unto, we should be more able to hurt them. Tho' the Sting of this Revenge

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is very sharp, yet the Fear I mention-
ed, is the most violent and frequent
Cause of our Court Oppressions, and
far the most unavoidable. The first
may be mitigated with the Satisfaction
of a continued Duty and Respect; but
you shall hardly ever perswade Fear
to put on the Confidence of Friend-
ship and Good-will again; yet we must
seek by all Means possible to effect it;
and Occasion will better instruct us
how to do it, than any Rule can.

Agessilaus desiring to become Friends
with those that he had offended, did
put them into great Offices and Em-
ployments, which whilst they ill ad-
ministred, bringing Envy (as is usual)
upon them; being accused, they were
compelled to have Recourse unto the
Prince, who delivering them from the
Danger and Infamy, won them by the
Benefit, to be afterwards sincerely and
heartily his Friends. It is an ordina-
ry thing in Courts to supplant one se-
cretly, to the end, that being supported
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by your Favour, he may become your Creature. It is no less frequent, as *Eutrapelus* craftily practised in *Horace*, to lend those Men Money to feed their Lusts and Vanities, whom we desire to ruin. So it proves, that for the most part, they who applaud us in our Pleasures, our Humours, and Expences, and exhort us to undertake Things that are unreasonable, and above our strength, do seek our Destruction.

But let us now return unto the Ways of renewing our Friendships with our Enemies. Amongst all which, it is none of the worst to help both with your Counsel and Assistance, the Desires and Endeavours of your Enemy, in such Things as you see by succeeding will nothing hinder nor prejudice you ; to the end he may seem to owe you his Love for your Benefits. In this manner Cardinal *Ascanius Sforza* observing, that in vain he opposed himself to the Practices of *Julian* the Cardinal, who laboured to advance

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John, the Nephew of *Alexander VI.* to that Dignity, did so eagerly move in the Business for *John*, that it succeeding, he got the Start of *Julian* in his Friendship. If the Stubbornness of our Enemy be such, as that all our Endeavours for a Reconciliation are fruitless; we must at last look out, if there be any Body else that he hates or fears more than he doth us, and let us feign this Man (if the Circumstances will bear it) to be a Competitor to us and him; to the end, that his Hate towards the other prevailing, may induce him either to favour, or less oppose us in our Designs.

An Artifice not much unlike to this, was that which *Gerlachus*, Archbishop and Elector of *Mentz*, used, when he intended to create *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, his Kinsman, Emperor: He knew that those Princes that stood for the Empire, (for which a Governour was now a chusing) were divided amongst themselves; which Discords and Factions,
he

he to make use of, dealt thus with the Electors severally apart. He tells *Wenceslaus*, King of *Bohemia*, That the Votes of the Electors, for the most part, would favour *Albert*, Duke of *Austria*, *Wenceslaus's* Enemy: But if he were certain of *Wenceslaus's* Concurrence, he was ready to hinder it. Having thus won *Wenceslaus*, he sets upon the Duke of *Saxony*, and tells him, That his Enemy *Brunswick* was like to carry it; and then assures the *Palatine*, That *Wenceslaus* (at that time hated by him) unless prevented, was like to defeat them all. So promising to oppose every Man's Enemies, he circumvented them all, making, by that Means, his Kinsman Emperor, who if he had been first propounded, had without doubt been rejected by the common Consent of all.

C H A P. XIX.

Of Envy, how it is to be overcome.

NOW I must say something of Envy, which is so great an Evil, that we have need of a strange Felicity and Fortitude to overcome it; which is not to be satiated with any thing, but the Participation of that which it envies in another; for every one, eager after his own Advantage, desires to toil in nothing but that, whence, if not the whole, at least a great Share of the Honour and Emolument will redound unto himself. Yet altho', I confess, it be very hard, yet this Envy is nevertheless, with Industry and Prudence, to be mastered; and that not only by this means alone, of sharing with them that very Thing we seek for: For sometimes it will suffice to
perswade

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perswade them that envy us, that the Thing they desire, if it chance to light upon us, will turn much to their Honour and Profit. To which end, we must court them with Friendship and Familiarity; and tho' their Envy to us be very palpable, yet must we express, on our parts, great Inclinations and Affections towards them; professing, That we wish nothing more than that their Desires should succeed; and that we desire this very Thing that we now pursue, for no other End so much, as that we may become capable to serve our Friends, and principally themselves: In short, we must act our Part so, as from the Augmentation of our Fortune, they may conceive hope of Avancement to their own.

By those that desire to be free from Envy, all Pride, over-sumptuous Manner of Living, unseasonable Feasts, and Boasting, is sedulously to be avoided, especially by those who have risen from a mean Condition, unless the
Pleasure

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Pleasure of the Prince, or the Dignity of their Office, require it otherwise; for then a becoming Magnificence will not be unfit, provided, that in these Expences he lets the World see he doth rather comply with the Pleasure of the Prince, than follow his own Inclination. With this kind of Modesty and Prudence, the Beginnings of Cardinal *Ximenes* were very fortunate and notable, for he was born of so mean a Parentage, that it was doubtful whether he were a Gentleman or no; altho' his prosperous Fortune found those afterwards that would undertake to prove his Nobility. This *Ximenes*, whilst the World went hard with him, became in his Youth a Friar, whence soon after, for his singular Endowments, he was by the Commendation of Cardinal *Mendoza*, made Confessor to *Isabella*, Queen of *Castile*, and not long after, Archbishop of *Toledo*, (as I said once before) which Archbishoprick, upon *Mendoza's* Death,
Queen

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Queen *Isabella* having obtained of the Pope for *Ximenes*; he finding himself too weak for the Envy it would draw upon him, refused to accept it; and was so stiff in his Refusal, that he scarce suffered himself to be won to the Acceptance of it, by all the Nobles of the Court, who one by one, at the Queen's Direction, press'd him to embrace it; and having accepted of it, he was fain to be so intreated over again, before he could be perswaded to live in a Condition and Splendor equal to his Dignity; nay, after that, he was personally so observant of his former Manner of Life, in this great Fortune, that no Way else, but by the Pope's express Command, could he be induced to change it.

This Modesty succeeded so well with him, that hereby he appeased and avoided that great Envy, which must otherwise of Necessity have oppressed him, being the Possessor of a Dignity gaped after by all the Grandees of
Spain,

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Spain, and of Revenue scarce inferior to those of the Crown.

But yet, as this Manner of Proceeding is in the best of our Fortunes, an Antidote against Envy, so it little avails those who have once already carried themselves insolently and proudly, for the Moderation of these Men is still looked upon as Counterfeit: Of which Thing, the *Constantinopolitan* History affords us an Example, in a *Metropolitan*, called *Constantine*, who being banished from the Courts both of *Isacius Angelus*, and *Alexius* the Emperors, returned afterwards with the Empress *Euphrosine*, pretending a great Aversion from Business, and a Courtier's Life, to the end he might be the more credited, and sought unto the more eagerly, he took Orders upon him: In short, he carried his Business so craftily, that the Emperor himself causing him to be absolved from the Oath of Priesthood, called him to Court, and trusted him with the Management

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management of his greatest Affairs: Who presently, not content with his own Advancement, introduced his two Brothers to wait upon the Emperor; and, as it were, to stand Centinels for him, if at any Time his Business called him away: But because his former Prosperity had discovered the Insolence of his Nature, every Body feared him still, altho' he now made show of great Temper and Moderation, which was the Cause that he was again supplanted and removed from Court, without ever being restored more.

CHAP. XX.

Of Emulation, the Sister of Envy, and the Remedies of it.

THE same Remedies that are good against Envy, prevail also against Emulation, which hath less Malignity

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ty in it truly, than Envy hath, but more of Ambition, and the Treachery of Self-concernments. But these Competitors of ours, are to be stroaked with a certain specious Respect, and ceremonious Veneration, which will powerfully divert these kind of Humours; especially, if we feed their Hopes with higher Things than those we aim at, and seem to contribute our Votes and Assistance to them; on the other side, villifying that which we seek for, as below them to stoop unto, and fitter for our selves; whose Merits, as they are less, so our Pretences ought not to be so high. If we fear that they will smell our Drift, we are to hold them in Suspence, and seem to discourse the Case with Arguments on both Side, yet giving the greatest Weight to those which we intend should divert their Ambition. But the surest and best Course of all, is to conceal, if it be possible, what we aim after, till it be out of the Power of our Enemies or Competitors to hinder us. A

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A too great Eagerness in our Pretences, is sometimes odious, even to those that would, if it were more modest, contribute their Assistance to us; pulling with it besides, other greater Inconveniencies upon us, as if we succeed, more Envy, and if we fail, a greater Disgrace : It is much more safe, as I said even now, to hide our Designs, and as Rowers do, turn our Backs upon the Place we are going unto. Those that look after the greatest Commands, have taken this Way ; nothing hath been more usual unto 'em, than after the Example of *Agamemnon* in *Euripides*, to express a greater Desire of Rest and Retirement, than of Honour or Employment. And many have found this a singular Remedy to divert the Wiles of those that would oppose them, and to escape the Disgrace which attends those fierce Pretenders; nay, they have had hereby the Glory to have it often thought, that this Honour or Employment was cast upon them, merely

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merely for their Merits, and not obtained by begging or buying of Voices, as it too often falls out.

Last of all, in our Pretences we must take heed, that we clash with no Rival that is greater or more powerful in Friends and Dependants, than our selves. In this Case we must imitate *Marcus Lepidus*, a Man in *Tacitus's* Opinion, of great Wisdom; who being drawn, as it were, into the Senate by *Tiberius*, to stand with *Junius Blefus*, *Sejanus's* Uncle, whether of them should be chosen Proconsul of *Africk*, pretended presently against himself, want of Health, the tender Years of most of his Children, and the Marriage of a Daughter that he was to take care of; fearing doubtlesly to make *Sejanus* his Enemy, if he carried away the Province from *Blefus*. Neither must we obstinately contend with him, whom some great Man is about to advance, altho' the Law favour us against him; for without doubt, Fa-

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your weighs down the Laws, as *Tacitus* instances in *Germanicus* and *Drusus*, creating *Haterius Agrippa* Prætor, notwithstanding the expresse Contradiction of a Law; but let the Historian speak himself. ' There arose a Dispute of substituting a Prætor in the Place of *Nipsanius Gallius*, lately dead; ' *Germanicus* and *Drusus* favoured *Haterius Agrippa*, *Germanicus*'s Kinsman; others on the contrary Side, ' did contend, that the Number of ' Children should carry it, according ' to the Law. *Tiberius* was glad to see ' his Sons, and the Laws of the Senate clash together; without doubt ' the Law was overcome, but yet not ' easily, nor by many others. By ' which Means, when they were in ' their greatest Vigour, they were wont ' to be over-born.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXI.

How to avoid a Threatning Ruine, and when it is upon us, how to make the best Use of it: Examples of the Fall of great Men.

Hitherto we have observed the principal Precepts that are to be observed by our Courtier; if any want, every rational Man's (for such only we intend to instruct) Prudence and Dexterity will supply 'em. Now because these kind of Rules are no less necessary for the preserving our Greatness and Fortune in the Court, than for the gaining of it, it will not be impertinent to have by us the Examples of some of those that have fallen from their Power and Greatness, to the end we may grow wise by other Mens

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Mens Mischances; and learn, if not to avoid a Ruine, at least to arm and prepare our selves for it; for this latter is almost as necessary as the first, since the Endeavours of those that seek to escape their approaching Misfortunes, are for the most part vain, whilst he that prepares himself for it long before, makes that fall (which few or none of them can avoid that Fortune hath lifted up on high) to be much more gentle and easie than otherwise it would.

These Falls happen unto us, either thro' our own Faults, thro' the Arts and Contrivance of our Enemies, or thro' the Perverseness of the Prince's Nature, or perhaps his Death. Since the Lives of all Men are obnoxious to Faults, and full of Errors and Failings, it is so especially with those that are on high, who by reason of their Greatness are out of the Lists of Reprehension, all that are about them being compelled to approve of whatever they do, be it well or ill. Amongst

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mongst all which Faults, the foulest they are incident unto, is, a treacherous turning against their Prince, who is the Author of their Dignity and Power; a Crime marked out with the blackest Note of an ungrateful and faithless Soul, and a most just Subject of the Prince's Hate and Indignation. All Men that are in Authority ought to fly the very Shadow of this Crime, and to the end of taking all Ground of Suspicion from the Prince, to decline those Honours and Places that are opportune for such Attempts.

Paterculus esteems *Sejanus* to have been one of the wisest Courtiers that ever was; and truly it is likely, that he that flourished so long in the Favour of a Prince, so subtil and diffident as *Tiberius* was, did comport himself with great Modesty and Wariness.

‘ He was (*saieth our Author*) in Appearance given to Ease, assuming nothing to himself, and by that Means obtaining all Things, crouching still
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‘ willingly beneath the Opinion of
‘ other Men, and striving to come
‘ behind them in Repute ; his Coun-
‘ tenance and his Life was calm and
‘ quiet, altho’ his Mind was restless,
‘ and ever awake ;’ yet Ambition at
last transported this provident and
wary Man so far, as to aspire to the
Empire. To which end, *Drusus* be-
ing dead, he married *Livia* his Wi-
dow, that so being linked into the
House of the *Cæsars*, he might
more easily compass his Desire : And
although he perceived out of *Tibe-
rius’s* Tergiversation, when he de-
manded his Consent in the Case, that
it had drawn a Suspicion upon him ;
yet did he not change his Mind, but
what he had failed of this way, he
sought to compass another.

He knew that *Tiberius* was grown
weary of the City ; whereupon he pre-
sently spurs him on, and perswades
him to retire to *Caprea* ; read *Tacitus*,
Annal 4. who says, ‘ That lest he
K ‘ should

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‘ Should either infringe his Power, or
‘ weaken his Authority, by debarring
‘ the Multitude from the Court, or
‘ minister Matter of Slander and Su-
‘ spicion by entertaining them, he
‘ took this Course: He perswaded *Ti-*
‘ *berius* to go live in some pleasant
‘ Place, far from *Rome*, foreseeing
‘ many Conveniencies in it. First,
‘ there could be no Access to the
‘ Prince but thro’ him; then, that the
‘ Disposal of all Letters would be in
‘ his Hands, since the Soldiers by
‘ whom they were to be conveyed,
‘ would be at his Devotion; and last-
‘ ly, that *Cesar* now growing old, and
‘ waxing effeminate with the Privacy
‘ of the Place, would easily transfer
‘ the Burthen of Affairs and Govern-
‘ ment upon him;’ and truly, his
Hopes deceived him not, for in a short
Time, under Pretence of easing *Tibe-*
rius’s his Age, he drew all the Power
of the Empire into his own Hands.

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Yet at last, the Event showed, that this way of *Sejanus* was both perilous and tedious; to mention which more accurately, seems worth my Labour here, to the end, that both Courtiers may be more wary in governing their Fortune, and Princes more cautious in exalting their Minions. *Tiberius* did either love or suffer patiently *Sejanus*, as long as he found his Help useful to the Oppression of *Agrippina* and her Children, *Nero* and *Drusus*; to which kind of Employments *Sejanus* shewed himself very ready, knowing, that thereby he should not only win the Favour of the Prince, but also establish his own Power and Hopes, there being none left of *Cesar's* House now, but two Youths, whose tender Age, if they should come to the Government, must needs leave the Authority and ordering of Affairs to him, until he saw his Opportunity of usurping the Empire it self.

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But mark how rash and blind Ambition makes us ; he did not see, that the nearer he came to the Top, the more he became suspected of this jealous Prince, who now sought all Means of lessening, rather than advancing him ; that strove as much on the other Side to climb still on ; for tho' he wanted nothing but the Name of Emperor (which some did not stick to give him) and the Tribune's Power (which the Emperors never intrusted to any) yet was he not content, but daily endeavoured to augment his Authority. By which Course, as he rendered himself Venerable to all others, so he made himself Formidable to *Tiberius* ; for when he saw that *Sejanus* had not only won the Prætorian Guards, but also very many of the Senators and principal Families of *Rome*, by either Benefits or Hopes, or Fears, unto himself ; and likewise, that his Secrecies were by his own Servants told unto *Sejanus*, and not *Sejanus's*

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to him again, he determined his Destruction, as one that was become his Rival : But before he went about it, he thought fit to sound the Inclinations of those about him, to the end that he might know how to chuse out some that would like of his Design.

Left that *Sejanus* should smell out any Change in *Cæsar's* Affection towards him, he makes him Consul, and calls him both present and absent, in his Letters, to the Senate ; and the People, his Friend and Companion of his Labours. Lastly, he feigns himself sick, to discover thereby the Affections both of *Sejanus*, and several others. Sometimes he writes to the Senate of his recovering Condition, and that he would shortly come to Town; sometimes praising, sometimes blaming *Sejanus* ; sometimes receiving those that came recommended by him ; and other Times refusing others ; that thus he might keep him suspended between Hope and Fear, who, whether trust-

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ing to his Favour with the Prince, or for fear of losing of his Hopes, resolv'd to attempt nothing by Force, hoping, that the Disgusts of the Prince, if there were any, would wear out with Time. In this Interim, others, who had hitherto fawned upon *Sejanus's* Fortune, not upon himself, seeing *Tiberius* stagger, began to carry themselves more warily, and the Devotion of many towards *Sejanus*, grew cold.

Tiberius having discovered long ago, the Pride and Insolency of *Sejanus*, and fearing withal, lest provok'd by Contempt, he should run some desperate Course, caus'd it to be given out, that he intended to confer the Tribunitial Power upon *Sejanus*; and presently after, commands him to be laid in Prison, writing Letters to that end, to the Senate, which were carried by *Macro*, Captain of the Guards; who coming to *Rome*, first communicated the Prince's Pleasure to *Memmius Regulus*, then Consul (for the other Consul was
more

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more addicted to *Sejanus*) and then to *Gracinus Laco*, Captain of the Watch, it being not yet break of Day; thence going to the Senate-House, he met *Sejanus*, who startled to see him, demanded if he had brought him any Letters from *Tiberius*; he whispered in his Ear, That he should anon be saluted Tribune; whereupon, he entering the Senate-House, not without an inward Joy, *Macro* commanded the Pretorian Guards to go Home, showing them to that end a Warrant from the Emperor, in which also he promised them a Largeſs. The Pretorian Soldiers being departed, and *Laco's* Company placed there in their room, *Macro* enters the Senate, and delivers his Letters; immediately going forth, without expecting the reading of them, to bid *Laco* stand well upon his Guard, lest *Sejanus* raising a Tumult in the Senate, should break away; and went thence himself to the Pretorian Guards,

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to hinder them, lest they should attempt any Thing.

The Letters that were then a reading, were spun out into a great Length, to the end that *Macro* might have Time enough to order his Business; and truly they were interwoven with a wonderful Contrivance. In the Beginning there was no mention of the Business, nor any Thing concerning *Sejanus*; a little after he was touched upon, as they say, with a gentle Hand; then some other Things interlaced, there followed a more open, but that also a slight Accusation against him: At last, after sundry Excursions about the Affairs of the Commonwealth, two of *Sejanus's* Favourites were named, and the Senate commanded to proceed against them; and withal, that *Sejanus* himself should be secured. All mention of his Death being purposely left out, to the end, that Hope might be left to the Accused, of clearing himself of those Crimes, and those but
light

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light ones, that were there objected against him.

The Letters being read, many that had waited upon him into the Senate, seeing Things of another Nature in hand, than making *Sejanus* Tribune, rose up and compassed him in, lest he should escape; which it is believed that he would at least have attempted to do, if in the beginning, the Emperor's Letters had thundered any thing sharply against him. But he then despising those slight Touches, sat still in his Place, and being called upon, either two or three times, by the Consul *Memmius* to rise up, with much ado he obeyed at last, as being accustomed to give, and not to receive Commands. When he was risen, *Laco* followed him close at the Heels, and after him came *Regulus*, accompanied with other Senators, who led him from the Senate to the Prison; and thence, soon after, to Execution at the

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Scala Gemonia, where he was put to Death.

Behold here the Ruine of a great Courtier, and a Favourite, who for Craft and Power had scarce ever his Equal! The Contrivance of whose Fall, tho' it may seem due to *Tiberius's* Prudence, yet it is rather to be attributed to his own Greatness and Prosperity, which ruined it self with its own Weight so evidently, that all those Sleights and Stratagems of *Tiberius*, were not very needful, as may be gathered out of the Example of *Perennius*, who aspiring to the same Height that *Sejanus* did, and by the same Arts, was subverted by *Commodus*, a Prince of a Judgment far inferior to *Tiberius*. It may well be, that many will not be moved with these Examples, because they will seem to be wiser than others, and to know something more than these did, whose Misfortunes are here recounted. I will not move them to Passion, with telling them what I think, altho'

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altho' truly, I will not deny, but in these latter Ages there have been some, whose Projects succeeded less unhappily, as *Boylas*, whose Story we read in the History of *Constantinople*, who being caught in a Conspiracy against *Constantinus Monomachus*, then Emperor, did not undergo so heavy a Punishment as for such Crimes is wont to be inflicted, the Reason being, because he had the Luck to transgress against a mild and gentle Prince.

It will not be amiss to recite the Story briefly here, to the end you may see how the secretest Counsels, and undiscoverable by the Eyes of Man, are oftentimes discovered by the Divine Providence, after an unlook'd for Manner, not being able to escape Punishment, by whatsoever Caution they are managed. No mortal Man would have believed, that this *Boylas* should have any Inclination to, or could have any Ground for so great a Villainy. The Greatness of the Favours which were
heaped

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heaped upon him, had possessed the good Prince with a great Hope and Opinion of his singular Fidelity, who seemed also by Nature unapt for great Undertakings: He was not only of very mean Birth, but also stammered so much, as he could hardly be understood; which stuttering, since he saw it pleasing to the Emperor, he did afterwards affect on purpose: With this Assentation and Flattery, he so insinuated himself into the Prince's Familiarity, that the Bed-Chamber and Cabinet of *Constantine* were always opened unto him: At last, being enriched by the Prince, he was chosen into the Number of the Senators, and begins to cast his Thoughts higher; wherein he went so far, that he determined by the Murther of the Prince, to make his own Way to the Scepter. This Design he first opened to those he knew surely hated the Emperor, promising Mountains to such as approved it, and offered him their Assistance; and

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and praising greatly those that disliked it, and refused it, out of their Affection and Loyalty towards the Prince; as whose Spy he would seem to propound such Things, to discover the Inclinations of his Subjects.

By which Means he was undescried by all, but such, whose Fellowship in the Treason makes him secure of them; and had, at last, effected that abominable Act, if at the very time when he had the Weapon in his Hand, which he had prepared for the Emperor's Throat, one of the Conspirators, touched with a sudden Remorse of Conscience, had not seasonably disclosed, and discreetly prevented it. The Emperor took the Injury so patiently, that having condemned some of the Conspirators to die, he was satisfied in inflicting Banishment only on the Author of the Treason.

It were too long to recount all those here, who having undertaken such Treasons, were caught in them, or else, tho'

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tho' innocent, were falsely believed to be guilty of some such Design, and made Shipwreck in Court. But contenting our selves with what we have already said, this only is to be added, that all Pride, whether thro' Ambition, Bragging, Reproaches, Detraction, Ostentation, or other pompous Manner of Living, it displease the Prince, is the high Road to Ruine.

C H A P. XXII.

Boasting, Presumption, Arrogance, too much Familiarity, Pride, and Perfidy, noted with Examples.

THIS boasting and recounting of Services past, destroyed *Philotas* and *Clytas* in the Court of the great *Alexander*; and *Craterus* himself had like to have been over-born with those

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those Winds: Certainly he had been much more acceptable to the Prince, if he had contained himself within the Bounds of a generous Modesty: So *Cajus Silius* with *Tiberius*; *Antonius Primus* with *Vespasian*; and *Sillas* with King *Agrippa*, by boasting of their Services, deprived themselves of all the Fruit of them; as *Tacitus* witnesses of the two first, *Annal* 4. and *Hist.* 4. and *Josephus* of the last. Princes do believe their Fortunes and Favours lost, and cast away upon these Braggadocio's, for they will have their Subjects seem to owe all they have to them and their Bounty; not to their own Vertue and Merits.

The Liberty of reprehending the Actions of Princes, or inveighing against others in their Presence, is to be carefully avoided, as bordering upon Arrogance and Presumption. *Eumenes* complaining before *Alexander*, something petulantly, That *Hephæstion* should assign the Soldiers Quarters to Musicians,

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Musicians, Comedians, and such kind of People, incurred the Displeasure of the King.

To treat with the Prince over familiarly, or to seem to make one's self the sole Arbiter of his principal Cares, favours of Pride, altho' it may proceed only out of Vanity and Covetousness; as it appeareth in the Example of *Zotirus*, once the Favourite of *Heliogabilus*; and also of *Turinus*, who scarce worse than *Zotirus*, yet more unhappy, was commanded to be stifled to Death with Smoak, by *Alexander*, the Son of *Mammea*, the Executioner crying out, *Let him perish with Smoak, who sold Smoak.* He was wont to brag, That the Prince was governed by his Advices, and so by intruding upon the Prince's Retirements, and with impertinent, senceless Whispers in Publick, pretending to Favour, was sought unto by very many, and gathered together great Riches, thro' the Bribes and Presents of those to whom

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whom all his Interest in the Prince could not avail a Straw.

The Arrogance of *Plancianus* is also worthy of Memory, which being accompanied with great Vanity, broke out at last into open Perfidy: His Arrogance was such, that he did not stick to contend with *Bassianus*, the Emperor's Son, who was Author both of his Dignity and Fortune; and he was withal so vain, that as he passed thro' the City, he would not only interdict all Access unto him, but also would not suffer them to behold him, his Ushers going before still to clear the Streets of all that they could see. Becoming a Traitor at last against his Prince, and convicted of his Treason, he was beheaded. In *France*, during the Time of *Philip le Bell*, *Enguerrandus Marigny*, daring to contest personally with *Charles de Valois*, what Misery he did pull upon himself and his Friends, may be observed in the *French Histories*.

Above

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Above all Things, we must take heed, that we give not our selves in Court, to sowing of Strife between Princes and great Men, for they becoming Friends, do for the most part sacrifice such unto their Friendship; of which, tho' the Stories of all Nations are full, yet the *Bavarian History* furnishes us with one Example very memorable, of *Otho Crondoferus*, who flourishing with *Rodolphus* the *Palatine* in singular Favour, was the Author of great Enmities between the Prince and his Mother, for a time; but the Mother afterwards reconciling her self unto her Son, *Crondoferus* had his Eyes and Tongue pull'd out.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXIII.

How we must, not only take Care to preserve the Prince's Favour, but also that of those in Power about him.

IT is not enough that the Princes themselves be not averse unto us, but we must also keep our selves aright with those that are in Favour with them. *Germanicus* at his Death, gave that Advice to *Agrippina* his Wife, of which *Tacitus*, *Annal* 2. speaks thus:
' Then turning to his Wife, he en-
' treated her by his Memory, and for
' their Children sake, which were
' common to them both, That she
' would pull down her Stomach, and
' submit her great Heart to the Rage of
' Fortune, lest, returning to the City,
' she should with Emulation of her
' Greatness,

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' Greatness, stir up against her, Persons
' more powerful than her self.' *A-*
grippina's Neglect of this Document,
ruin'd her and her Children. I told
you before, how much *Eumenes's* Fa-
vour was diminished with *Alexander*,
after that, railing against *Hephestion*,
he carried himself irreverently towards
the Prince, and discovered his Spleen
and Envy to him that he accused.

Wherefore, when we see any one in
the Prince's Favour, we must careful-
ly weigh his Authority, and compare
it, as it were, in a Balance against our
own, that we may know certainly
which weighs down the other : And
in the Trial of this, we are not so
much to observe outward Appearances,
as the Circumstances of inward Causes.
Craterus and *Hephestion*, for a time,
did flourish, both of them in great and
equal Favour with *Alexander*, until
Alexander himself determined the Bu-
siness, in calling one of them the King's
Friend, and the other *Alexander's*
Friend. Out

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Out of which Decision *Craterus* might have made this Judgment, That since Princes, for the most part, are more in love with their own Wills than their Authority, they also are held more dear unto them, who rather adore and worship *Alexander*, that is their Person, than their Fortune and Kingly Dignity: And tho' that afterwards, upon a Strife that arose between him and *Hephestion*, when all the Court was divided into Factions, *Alexander* seemed to encline to neither Side, but chiding them both, heavily threatned Punishment, if ever they should harp upon that String again; yet his Manner of dealing with them, shewed rather his singular Prudence, to be imitated by all Princes, than his equal Affection to them both. He apprehended, that this Discord might produce great Tumults and Mischief; for he knew both *Craterus's* great Interest in the *Macedonians*, and how much *Hephestion* was envied for his Favour

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Favour to him. Therefore to diminish *Hephestion's* Envy, he reprehended him publickly; and to avoid giving Offence to the *Macedonians*, he reprov'd *Craterus* in private.

Amongst those that in this Trial and Examen of the Prince's Favour, between themselves and others, were out of Negligence and Indiscretion, most grossly mistaken, *Antonius Primus* ought to have the first Place, who daring to contend with *Mutianus*, learnt at last, that he had better have contested with *Vespasian* himself. And in this Manner you will find it is a Thing witnessed by the Examples of all Courts, to vindicate more sharply an Injury against the Favourites, than against the Prince himself. *Dio* tells us the Reason of it, when he had recounted how the same Thing happened to *Sejanus*, thus: ' As those, whom Vertue and Con-
' scioufness of their own Deserts, hath
' lifted up to Dignities, do not much
' stick upon the vain Ceremonies, and
' outward

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‘ outward Circumstances of Honour ;
‘ so on the contrary Side, those who
‘ seek to climb by Ambition, Pride,
‘ and Vice, thereby to hide their Un-
‘ worthiness and Meanness, do pre-
‘ sently take ill, and understand as a
‘ Contempt, the least Neglect of Ce-
‘ remony and Respect towards them.’

Insomuch, that it is harder to preserve
the Friendship of these Men than of
the Prince himself, for he thinks it a
Glorious and Princely Act to forgive
Injuries : When these, lest they should
seem to remit that which they cannot
revenge, even to Ostentation, do use
their borrowed Power, in prosecuting
those that have offended them.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXIV.

Pride, even in the meanest Persons at Court, noted with Examples; as also Treachery in betraying the Prince's Secrets.

Neither truly hath it been Destruction to great Ones only, to have carried themselves insolently and amiss, but also to Men of the lower Stage. *John*, King of *Arragon*, loved *Alvarez de Luna* so much, that he trusted him with all his Affairs, and even his Kingly Power it self, notwithstanding the repining of all his Nobles. But when he by Reason of his prosperous Fortune, fell into that Pride and Presumption, that he caused a Nobleman, who in the King's Name admonished him of his Duty, to be precipitated and murdered; he was by the
King's

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King's Command beheaded. It is also an ordinary Cause of Shipwrack in Court, when any one hath rendred, either himself, or the Prince, hateful to the Peers or People; for, either the Prince is fain of his own accord, to cast such a one off, to rid himself of Envy, or else others never leave, till they have overthrown him. During the Reign of *Commodus*, *Cleander* once armed the Pretorian Guards against the *Roman* People; which was a ground of so great Tumults in *Rome*, that unless the Emperor had sacrificed *Cleander* to the People's Fury, he himself could not have been secure.

The same *Commodus* had rendred himself odious to all Men, by his Affection to one *Anterus*; from which Envy, that they might free their Master, some of *Commodus*'s Servants being very desirous, slew this *Anterus* as he was coming from Court. *Eutropius*, who had been long dear to *Arcadius* the Emperor, since he was believed to

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be the Author of the Sedition raised by *Tribigildus*, was given up, as a Price of the Peace, by the Prince, to the Enemy.

Amongst the Evils that subvert Courtiers, there are two remaining yet, as very dangerous, so very frequent, a betraying of the Prince's Secrets, and Conspiracy with his Enemies: Crimes, for the most part, arising out of Perfidy, but many Times also out of Levity and Indiscretion only. And forasmuch as concerns the Secrets of Princes, I think they do very well who pry not into them; and who, if their Office exact it not at their Hands, avoid the bare Knowledge of them: For if you be the only Person to whom they are imparted, and Fame (which often makes witty Conjectures) chance to scatter any thing like unto them, you cannot avoid the Suspicion, that the Secret came out by you: And altho' the Prince, perhaps, hath imparted it to some one else, yet it may fall out
so,

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so, that he hath forgot; or else, that he is more confident of the other Man's Silence, and so the Foil remain upon you still.

Not without Cause did *Philippides* the Comick Poet, when he was asked by King *Lyfimachus* (to whom he was very dear) of what Things he did chiefly desire to be made Partaker by his Prince? answer, That he would refuse nothing that came from the Prince, his Secrets only excepted, from which he desired to be excused. Let us learn from the Example of this Man, as much as we can, and esteem it safer to be ignorant of Secrets, so difficult and dangerous to be kept, than to know them. *Hiero*, Tyrant of *Syracusa*, was wont to say, That those who discover Princes Secrets, do wrong both to themselves, and to those they impart them unto, by exposing them also together with themselves, to the Hatred of the Prince.

C H A P. XXV.

The Causes, Kinds, and Examples of Conspiracies with the Prince's Enemies.

YET their Condition is, of all other, most hazardous and ticklish, who led either by Avarice, Ambition, or Desire of providing for their own Security, do conspire with the Prince's Enemies, whether they be either Strangers or Domesticks. Cardinal *Balaus*, a Taylor's Son, being by *Lewis XI.* made his Treasurer, and afterwards a Bishop, at last also by the King's Intercession, and the Pope's Willingness to oblige one that had been so sharp an Adversary unto him, was promoted to the Dignity of Cardinal: But afterwards, being convicted of a Conspiracy with the King's Enemies,

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he was sent to the Tower of *Loches*, where he dwelt twelve Years, until *Sixtus Quintus*, by great Intreaties, and much ado, procured his Release. For the like Crime, the Cardinal of *Prata* underwent the like Punishment in the Reign of *Francis I.* and had never, perhaps, got his Liberty, had he not deceived his Physicians with an Opinion of the Strangury, by drinking his Urine: When the King fearing the Anger of the Pope, if consumed with that Disease, a Cardinal should die in Prison, dismiss him. *Petrus de Vineis*, a chief Counsellor of the Emperor *Frederick II.* being suspected of Intelligence with Pope *Alexander III.* the Emperor's Enemy, lost his Eyes.

Not only Designs of usurping the Empire of the East, but also private Intercourse betwixt him and *Alaricus*, King of the *Goths*, are believed to have caused *Stilico's* Death; which that shameful Peace he made with the same *Alaricus*, against the Will of the Senate,

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seems to confirm; *Lampadius* (who always disclaimed it) calling it not a Peace, but a Contract of Slavery, whereby the Emperor was obliged to pay Tribute to *Barbarians*.

C H A P. XXVI.

That our Courtier must not be the Author of hazardous Counsels; the Variety of Errors, whereby the Prince's Favour is lost.

THE Courtier that we are all this while a forming, must chiefly beware, that he never be the Author of hazardous Counsels, for the ill Success of these is always wont to be imputed to the unfortunate Adviser, and the Good unto the Fortune of the Prince, not only by the Vulgar, who judge all Things by the Event, but also by the Prince himself, who is always

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ways glad to have some one upon whom to derive the Envy of an unlucky Undertaking, and scarce ever willingly that any one should share with him in the Glory of a prosperous Action. A good while before and after *Stilico's* Death, the Argument of the Publick Complaint, was his unseemly Peace with the *Goths*, until at last *Olympius*, who had procured his Ruine, seeking Fame from contrary Courses, broke the Truce, *Alaricus* in vain pleading the Injustice of the Deed; but afterwards, having made War for some time, still with ill Success, this very Man was, in the Opinion of the People, esteemed the Author of all their Evils; and at last, being accused by the Eunuchs, who were in great Favour with the Emperor, he was fain to leave the Court, and fly into *Dalmatia*.

When either the Beginning of a War, or Breaking of a Peace is treated of, the part of a wise Counsellor is to bring Arguments for both Sides, and

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leave the Prince at Liberty to make Choice of what likes him best : And if he be prest to deliver his Opinion, it will be the safer Course to incline to Peace, unless invincible Necessity, or an apparent Advantage, perswade the contrary ; which Course was prudently taken by *Jovius*, the Successor of that *Olympius* we lately mentioned.

He, tho' he was more inclined to War, that so himself might be more necessary to the Emperor ; yet after the manner of some Statesmen, seemed to prefer a Love to Peace, having met with *Alaricus* at *Ariminum*, whether he was sent to confer with him ; he sends the Conditions that *Alaricus* propounded to *Honorius*, perswading him in other Letters apart, that he should offer the Command of his Armies to *Alaricus*, to make him more reasonable in other Things. The Emperor denying, That it was safe for him to commit the Strength of his Empire to a Stranger, that had been hitherto

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therto his Enemy, answered, That he had rather consent to pay him Tribute.

When *Jovius* had read these Letters to *Alaricus*, he, angry to see himself and his Friendship rejected by *Honorius*, broke off the Treaty of Peace, and *Jovius* returns to *Honorius*, who being much offended with the Insolence of his Enemy, swore he would never have any Peace with *Alaricus*, and gave the same Oath to all his Courtiers and Commanders. Thus *Jovius*, by the same Art, removed from himself the Envy of the broken Truce, and endearing himself to *Alaricus*, by the Testimony of his Good-will, in advising *Cesar* to give him the Command of his Armies, engaged *Honorius* in a War; whereby the Power and Authority of *Jovius* was wonderfully established. There is in Story so great Variety of those Errors, by the means of which Courtiers have fallen from their Prince's Favour, that no Man's Diligence can reckon them all up so,

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but when he hath recounted many, he shall find still more behind. Wherefore, having here cull'd out some of the principal, we leave the rest to the Industry and Discretion of every observing Reader.

C H A P. XXVII.

Of the Arts whereby Courtiers are supplanted by others; and first under Pretence of specious Employments abroad, or of calling them from their Commands to attend upon the King's Person.

WE have seen already, how by his own Fault, a Courtier may lose the Prince's Favour; let us now shew the Means whereby his Enemies are wont to supplant him, which
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are of three Sorts: Either they will endeavour to remove him from the Court, under an honourable Pretence, or else they will render him suspected and hateful to the Prince; or lastly, will by open Force compel the Prince to remove him.

Of the first kind of these three, as there are divers Ways, so the Ends are divers; for some are with shows of Honour, or with the desire of living amongst their Friends, willingly perswaded to depart the Court: Which Course, during the Reign of *Manuel Comnenus*, *Styppiota* craftily used to remove out of his way *Hagiotheodorita* that stood in his Light; for there arising a Controversie between *Michael Pedagogus* and *Joseph Balsamon*, *Styppiota* perswaded the Emperor, that if *Hagiotheodorita* were made Governor of *Peloponnesus*, it would put an end to the Contention of these great Ones. *Hagiotheodorita*, out of a desire of assisting his Kinsman, undertakes

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takes the Employment, not dreaming that *Styppiota* having got his Rival out of the way, would by this Means come to the sole Management of Affairs, as indeed it fell out.

Some Men also, tired out with the Brawls and Strifes of their Enemies in Court, to provide for their own Quiet, do easily embrace any plausible Employment for a Pretence of their Departure; as *Agrippa* did, who, *Velleius* testifies, went into *Asia*, under the Colour of a great Employment, only to withdraw himself from Court, where he had private Grudges and Heart-burnings against *Marcellus*, as the Report goes.

Tiberius, whilst *Caius Caesar* lived, retired to *Rhodes*, upon Pretence of following his Studies, and by his Mother's Means (they are *Suetonius's* Words) 'to hide the Disgrace of it, obtained to be sent, as it were, Ambassador from *Augustus*.' If there want a Pretext, whereby he whom
you

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you desire to remove, may voluntarily seek leave to go, and esteem it for a Benefit; the Prince must be perswaded to give him some Charge, by Reason it can be executed by none so well as he: So also, if there be any Man great and powerful in any of the Provinces abroad, and have Emulators that seek to eclipse him; they must labour to call him thence to Court, as necessary to the Prince's Person; that so being crouded up amongst the Courtiers, his Lustre may be obscured.

This Art used *Apelles* in *Polybius*, when he stript *Taurion* of the Government of *Peloponnesus*. So *Darius*, by the Advice of *Megabyzus*, recalled *Hysteus* out of *Ionia*; not that he had any need of his Presence, as he pretended, but to weaken his Authority. If these Courtiers would rest contented with removing others out of their way, for their own Advancement, and proceed no further, in Comparison of many worse, these Arts and Practices would

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would be something tolerable, but the most of them rest not here: In the Reign of *Constantius, Sylvanus*, General of the Foot (as *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us) by *Arbetio's* Procurement, was sent into *France* to chastise the *Barbarians* for the Injuries they offered to the *Gauls*; whither he being once come, and growing into Favour with the Nation, and also rich, the Envy of *Arbetio* wrought at last his utter Destruction with the Emperor.

Almost the same Fortune under this very Emperor had *Ursicinus*, the General of the Horse: *Eusebius*, the Eunuch, had, together with some other Courtiers, conspired his Ruine; and by these Mens Means, to the end he might be far enough from Court, he was sent upon some Expedition to the Confines of *Persia*, where having staid ten Years, *Sabinianus* was sent to succeed him, neither in Judgment nor Experience equal to the Charge; whereupon,

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whereupon, presently a Rumour being spread, That the *Persians* were preparing for a War, he was commanded to stay there still, tho' the Power was already given to another. *Eusebius* contriving it so on purpose, to the end that whatsoever good Success happened against the *Persians*, might be attributed to *Sabinianus*; and whatever fell out amiss, might be imputed to *Orsicius*, as the Event witnessed; for *Ursicius*, cast down for another Man's Faults, retired, and pass'd the rest of his Life in Private. The Reign of this Emperor doth furnish us yet with another Example; for *Ruffinus*, the Uncle of *Gallus*, Captain of the Guard, was sent to appease a Mutiny of the Soldiers, out of no other Intention, but that he might perish in the Rage of the Tumult: as *Clytus* did complain, that he was sent by *Alexander* against the *Sogdians*, to no other end.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How Calumnies are used to make Men suspected or hated by the Prince.

THUS much for the first Way, whereby Courtiers are by their Enemies supplanted, and strip'd of the Prince's Favour. Now let us come to the second, which are, the Calumnies that are used to render us hated and suspected by the Prince: In Calumny, two Things are to be observed: The first is, Whether it be sufficient to deprive him of the Prince's Favour? The second is, Whether it be probable? Of the first, we must make our Judgment out of the present State of Things, out of the Humour and Inclination of the Prince, and out of the Nature of the Calumny intended. No kind of Slander

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Slander doth subvert more great Men, than that which accuses us of Conspiracy against the Prince's Person, or his Empire, or else of Contempt, or disdain-
ing to obey, with Detraction and Derision towards the Prince.

These Calumnies are rendred likely to be true, not only by the Words and Actions of those that are accused, and of their Servants, Friends, and Kindred, but also by contrived Letters, and the Disposition of the Prince; too apt to believe the Calumny, or too prone to think ill of the Person accused, especially if he were ever suspected before. These Things, which are by Calumny converted into a Crime, he that is traduced, either did or said of his own Accord, or else was ticed into them by the Sleights of his Enemies and Competitors: The Knowledge and Practice of which Malice, whets the Wits of those who will curiously watch their Occasions, and know dexterously how to use them.

There

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There are some Men that will put Projects into our Heads, to the end, that if we embrace them, they may make these very Things a Subject of Calumny against us, and accuse us to the Prince of some wicked Intention. There was a certain Magician called *Santabarinus*, very much beloved by *Basilius*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, but as much hated by *Leo*, the Emperor's Son, who this Magician desiring to overthrow, did so besiege him with counterfeited Duties, and feigned Respects, that at last winning upon him, he grew into Credit with the young Prince : Then having got an Authority and Interest in him, he takes his Time, and warns *Leo*, with great Art and Solitude, That whensoever he went a Hunting with his Father, he should carry a Poignard under his Garments, to defend himself withal: He obeying this Advice, the Magician goes to his Father, informing him, That his Son intended to murder him, and

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and for a Testimony, told him, That he always carried a Dagger hidden about him, waiting for an Occasion of performing it. In short, the Business came to that pass, the young Prince was searched, and the Poignard found; whereupon he was cast into Prison; and tho' he was protected by the joint Intercession of all the Court, yet he hardly escaped with his Life.

Whilst *Valentinian* was Emperor, *Ætius* accused Earl *Boniface*, who was very dear unto *Valentinian*, and Governour of *Africa*, unto *Placidia*, the Emperor's Mother, of Treachery towards the Prince, and of a Design he had of subjecting *Africk* to himself; perswading her withal, that he should be recalled quickly. At the same time, he warns *Boniface* by his Letters, That he was accused at Court, and for that Reason recalled; wherefore he should take heed how he returned, if he loved his own Safety. *Boniface* giving Credit unto him, obeyed him so far, that
re-

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(resolving to oppose those that would come to reduce him) he called in *Gontarus*, King of *Valladolid*, and *Gensericus* his Son, then reigning in *Spain*, unto his Aid; who, upon this Occasion, possessed themselves of *Mauritania*. The Deceit being afterwards found out, to the end the Truth might appear more plainly, they were permitted the Trial of a Combat, wherein *Ætius* being vanquished, was banished the Court.

Not unlike unto this was the Craft of *Samona*, beloved by *Leo*, Son to the Emperor *Basilus* (by reason of his Detection of the Treason of *Basilus*, Kinsman to the Empress *Zoa*) who resolving to ruine *Andronicus*, that was General against the *Saracens*, caused him to be warned by a Friend, that he should take heed of *Hymenius*, who came to deprive him of his Eyes; which was in those Days a Punishment usual towards great Persons, whose Power was overgrown, and become

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come formidable. *Andronicus* believing this to be true, which was feigned by *Samona*, withdraws himself from *Hymerius*, unto a Place of Strength, which he seized upon. This Fact of his, *Samona* did not omit to exaggerate unto the Emperor; insomuch, that by his Procurement, an Army was sent against him, which forced *Andronicus*, driven to Despair, to quit the Limits of the Empire, and fly unto the *Saracens*. A little before, we mentioned *Arbetio*, and it will be worth observing how he added Deceit upon Deceit. When he observed the Emperor angry with *Sylvanus*, and feared that he should come to *Rome* to clear himself of the objected Crimes, he gives the Emperor's Letters, wherein he called *Sylvanus* to his Presence, to an Instrument of his own, called *Apodenus*, who arriving in *France*, suppressed the Letters as he was directed, and tells *Sylvanus*, that nothing but Destruction hung over him; whereby *Sylvanus*

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vanus running into Rebellion, as the only Means of his Preservation, made good *Arbetio's* Calumnies.

But we have too long been silent concerning *Sejanus* (to whom being expert in all these Tricks) this Artifice we now treat of was very usual. That he might render *Agrippina* suspected to *Tiberius*, he inveigled her Friends to puff up her haughty Spirit; and her own Kindred were enticed to feed the swelling Hopes of *Agrippina* with crooked and perverse Discourses, whilst in the Interim, he causes *Claudia Pulchra*, *Agrippina's* Cousin-German, to be accused by *Domitius Afer*; which Injury this fierce and passionate Woman complaining of heavily to *Tiberius*, did thereby exceedingly encrease the Suspicions of this jealous Emperor. Yet *Sejanus*, not content with this, but seeking the utter Ruine of this unwary and sorrowful Lady, sent those unto her, who, under a Shadow of Friendship, should
warn

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warn her, that *Tiberius* meant to poison her, and that she should beware of his Feasts; whereupon, she over-credulous, refused to take an Apple out of *Tiberius's* Hand at Table, which grievously incensed *Cesar* against her. By the same *Sejanus* now, when Soldiers were set to watch over *Agrippina* and her Children, were Men suborned to advise her to fly to the *German* Army, or to run to the Image of *Augustus* for Sanctuary, and there to invoke the Help of the Senate and the People.

With the same ugly Arts, whereby he endeavoured to supplant this Lady, by making her suspected of *Tiberius*, he utterly overthrew her Friend *Titius Saeinus*; which thing, as it is described by *Tacitus*, you may read here in his own Words, because the Circumstances are very notable, *Annal* 4.

‘ *Junius Silanus*, and *Silius Nerva*,
‘ being Consuls, the Year had a foul
‘ beginning, for *Titius Sabinus*, an
‘ honourable

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' honourable Gentleman of *Rome*, was
 ' cast into Prison only for his Friend-
 ' ship to *Germanicus*, which was such,
 ' that he never omitted any Occasion
 ' of honouring or serving his Wife and
 ' Children; of all *Germanicus's* Fol-
 ' lowers, being the only Man which
 ' visited them at their House, and ac-
 ' companied them abroad: wherefore,
 ' as he was much praised by the Good,
 ' so was he much maliced by the Bad:
 ' Against him, *Latinius Latiani*, *Por-*
 ' *cus Cato*, *Petilius Rufus*, and *Mar-*
 ' *cus Opsius*, who had sometime been
 ' Consuls, bent their Spight, thro' a
 ' Desire of the Consulship, which they
 ' could not obtain but by *Sejanus's*
 ' Means, and *Sejanus's* Liberty could
 ' not be purchased, but by some no-
 ' table Piece of Villainy: Wherefore
 ' they plotted amongst them, that *La-*
 ' *tiani*, who was somewhat a-kin to
 ' *Sabinus*, should lay the Snare, and
 ' that the rest being privately Witnes-
 ' ses to what past, they might begin
 ' their Accusation. ' Here-

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Hereupon *Latiani* began at first to
cast Speeches out at random, and to
extol *Sabinus's* Constancy, that he did
not as others did, fawn in Prosperity,
and shrink from a House in Adversity,
with other honourable mention of *Germanicus*, bewailing *Agrippina's*
Estate: And seeing *Sabinus* (as Mens Minds are soft and
tender in Calamity) to pour down
Tears and Complaints; *Latiani* began
more boldy to touch *Sejanus's* Cruelty,
Pride, and Ambition, not forbearing
to reproach *Tiberius*. These seeming dangerous
Speeches, and such as durst not be avouched,
made a strict Friendship in Shew between
them: So far, that *Sabinus* often frequented
Latiani's House, and, as unto his faithful Friend,
uttered his Grievs unto him. Those I mentioned
before, now began to devise with *Latiani*,
how these Speeches might be heard by them
all: For the Place of Meeting must

M

be,

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‘ be, in Appearance, private; and if
‘ they should stand behind the Door,
‘ they did apprehend some Noise or
‘ other Accident of Suspicion might
‘ discover them; wherefore, between
‘ the Cieling and the Roof, the three
‘ Senators (in a Place no less unseem-
‘ ly than the Treachery was detesta-
‘ ble) hid themselves, laying their
‘ Ears close to the Holes and Chinks,
‘ to listen to what was said.

‘ In the mean time, *Latiani* hav-
‘ ing found *Sabinus* in the Market-
‘ place (as if he had some new Matter
‘ to tell him) enticeth him Home in-
‘ to his Chamber, beginning there to
‘ rip up Things past and present in a
‘ great Abundance, and to load him
‘ with new Fears. *Sabinus* was not
‘ behind hand with him, the Na-
‘ ture of Grievs being such, that when
‘ once we enter into them, we can
‘ hardly make an end. This done,
‘ they began immediately their Accu-
‘ sation, and writ unto *Cæsar* the whole
‘ Contrivance

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‘ Contrivance of their own lewd and
‘ shameful Act. The City was never
‘ in greater Perplexity and Fear, than
‘ at that Time, every Man estranging
‘ himself from his nearest Kindred and
‘ Acquaintance, avoiding all Meetings
‘ and Conferences, as well with their
‘ Friends as Strangers; yea, they grew
‘ jealous of mute and senseless Things,
‘ prying into the Roofs and Walls of
‘ their Houses. But *Tiberius* request-
‘ ing in his Letters, that the Solemn-
‘ ties of the new Year might be cele-
‘ brated on the Calends of *January*,
‘ falls at last upon *Sabinus*, charging
‘ him that he had corrupted some of
‘ his Freedmen to attempt something
‘ against his Person, and therefore
‘ boldly demandeth a Revenge, which
‘ without Delay was granted.

‘ *Sabinus* being condemned, was
‘ drawn and haled away with his Gar-
‘ ments over his Head, so that he be-
‘ ing almost throttled, was heard to
‘ cry out: *Is this the Beginnings of*

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“ *the new Year ! Be these the Sacri-*
“ *fices slain in Sejanus's Honour !*
“ Which way soever he did cast his
“ Eyes, they all fled that he directed
“ his Speech unto ; the Places of Af-
“ sembly, and the Streets were emp-
“ ty ; some came running back, and
“ showed themselves again afraid, for
“ that they were seen to be afraid :
“ And what Days think you now were
“ exempt from Executions, if amongst
“ the Sacrifices, and the Vows, when
“ the Custom was to abstain from pro-
“ fane Speeches, Fetters and Manacles
“ were mentioned ! It is believed *Ti-*
“ *berius* could not be ignorant of the
“ Envy he should incur for doing so,
“ but that he did it on purpose, to the
“ end the new Magistrates might open
“ the Prisons, when they set open their
“ Temples and their Altars : For after
“ that he sent Letters of Thanks, for
“ that they had punished an Enemy to
“ the State.

CHAP. XXIX.

*Examples of other Treacheries in
suborned Witnesses, and forged
Letters.*

I Cannot avoid bringing here another Example out of the same Historian: ‘ *Firminus Cato*, a Senator, and
‘ one of *Libo*’s inward Friends, indu-
‘ ced this simple young Man, easily
‘ led to Vanities, to give Credit to the
‘ *Chaldeans* Promises, the Magicians
‘ Ceremony, and the Interpretation of
‘ Dreams, vainly putting him in mind,
‘ that *Pompey* was his great Grandfa-
‘ ther, *Scribonia*, who had been *Augustus*
‘ his Wife, his Aunt; the *Cæsars* his
‘ Cousin-Germans; and that his House
‘ was full of the Statues and Monu-
‘ ments of his Ancestors: He entic’d him
‘ to Licentiousness, to borrow Money,
‘ making

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‘ making himself a Companion of his
‘ Lusts and Familiarities, the better to
‘ entangle him, and convince with
‘ many Evidences. That there might
‘ be Witnesses enough, he also de-
‘ bauched such of his Servants as knew
‘ any thing of the Matter. Then he
‘ desires Access to the Prince, and by
‘ Means of *Flaccus Vescularius*, a Gen-
‘ tleman of *Rome*, one of *Tiberius*’s
‘ Familiars, he discovered both the
‘ Matter and the Man.’ How after
this *Libo* was treated by *Tiberius*, and
made much of, until Accusations were
brought against him in such Abun-
dance, that he was forced to kill him-
self. *Tacitus*, Annal 2. will tell you
at large, to whom I had rather refer
you, than exceed the Bounds I had
proposed to my self in this Treatise.

Styppiota, whose Deceit in supplant-
ing *Hagiotheodorita*, I told you of be-
fore, could not avoid being circum-
vented himself, as *Sabinus* the *Roman*
was; the Contriver of that Plot was
Camaterus

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Camaterus Logotheta, who being an Enemy to *Styppiota*, accused him before the Emperor as an Impostor, and one that intended to betray *Sicily*. And to the end he might give some Face of Truth to his Calumny, he hides the Emperor in his Chamber, and in his Hearing begins on purpose to discourse of the Affairs of *Sicily*. At which Time many Things fell from the heedless *Styppiota*, that were very displeasing unto *Cæsar* : Not content with this, *Camaterus* causes counterfeited Letters to be mingled amongst *Styppiota's* Papers, which being searched by the Emperor's Order, were the cause of *Styppiota's* Condemnation, and the loss of his Eyes.

This Story leads me to speak of another Means of rendring Slanders probable, to wit, by counterfeiting Letters ; a Deceit, indeed, that for the most part breaks out at last to the prejudice of him that uses it, but nevertheless is of great Power to make deep

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Impressions of Suspicion in the Prince's Mind, and to alienate his Favour: Which being once observed by the Accused, will either induce him to withdraw himself willingly from Business, and the Court, least something worse should follow; or else cast him upon such Attempts and Practices as will confirm the Slander. Which appears by that Example of *Sylvanus* I mentioned before.

The Perfidy of false Witnesses is no slender Confirmation of Slanders, and this is chiefly necessary against such as are accused of Treason and Capital Crimes: And truly, Domestick Servants, as most proper, so oftneft are made use of in this Nature. In the Reign of *Arcadius*, *Eutropius* seeking the Destruction of *Timasius*, a great Captain, and a Man of much Authority, corrupts his Friend, or rather his inseparable Companion *Bargus*, to accuse him of affecting the Empire. The Friendship between *Bargus* and
Timasius,

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Timasius, gave Credit to the Accuser, all Men believing that he would not, unless the Crime was most certain, accuse him : To this counterfeited Letters were added, to prove the Treason, by which means the innocent Man and his Son were sent into Banishment, to the Isle of *Oasis*, from whence neither of them ever returned.

Caius Petronius was for his Skill in Pleasures preferr'd before *Tigellinus* by *Nero*; whereupon the other, out of Envy, accused his Rival of *Scævius's* Friendship, (who was convicted of a Conspiracy against *Nero*) and brought to witness it a Servant of *Petronius*, corrupted by him.

C H A P. XXX.

*Confirmation of Slanders under
the Colour of a feigned Friend-
ship, and the Inclinations of
the Prince to the Accuser.*

I Said before, that to confirm Calumnies, the Affection of the Prince to the Slanderer did much conduce, and for this Reason did *Sejanus*, endeavouring to make the Empress *Livia* jealous of *Agrippina*, *Germanicus's* Widow, chuse *Julius Posthumus* to do it; ' who, as *Tacitus* affirms, by Reason ' of his Adulteries with *Mutilia Prisca*, ' the Empress's Favourite, was very ' gracious with *Livia*. But Calumnies never succeed so easily, as when they are used against one already suspected by the Prince; for it is very probable, that then the Accuser shall not
only

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only ruin the other, but also exalt himself. The Familiars of *Vitellius* durst not set upon *Junius Blasus*, till they observed him to grow less in *Vitellius's* Favour, and they compassed their Desires much sooner, because *Lucius Vitellius*, the Emperor's Brother, lent them his Assistance.

Gracchus, a Freedman of *Cæsar's*, and one, as *Tacitus* saith, *Annal* 13. ' All his Life bred up in, and by a ' long Experience, well practised in ' the Prince's House,' thought it the best way to preserve himself in the Favour of the Prince, to accuse *Cornelius Sylla*, whom *Nero* he knew was jealous of already. The same Art did *Tigellinus* use against this *Sylla*, and *Plautus* afterwards, of which *Tacitus*, *Annal* 14. writes thus. ' But *Tigellinus's* Credit encreased daily, who ' thinking that his lewd Practices, ' wherein he was a great Proficient, ' would be more acceptable, if he could ' engage the Prince into the Commu-
nion

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• nion of his Villainies, began dili-
 • gently to pry into all his Fears; and
 • perceiving that *Plautus* and *Sylla* were
 • above others suspected, *Plautus* be-
 • ing banished into *Asia*, and *Sylla* in-
 • to *France*, he entereth into Discourse
 • of their Nobility, and how one was
 • too near the Army of the *East*, and
 • the other to that of *Germany*: That
 • *Sylla* was poor and needy, only coun-
 • terfeiting a Laziness, and *Plautus* a-
 • bounding in Wealth, did not so much
 • as pretend a desire of a quiet Life.

I told you above, of *Ursicinus* ac-
 cused by *Eusebius* the Eunuch, to the
 Emperor *Constantius*; who was already
 shy towards him by reason of his Kin-
 dred to *Gallus*; but I did not set down
 the Success of the Cause, which was
 thus: The Accusation faulting, be-
 cause the Arguments whereby the
 Crime was to be proved, were slender,
 the Eunuch intending a new Mischief,
 causes the Accused to be enlarged: And
 Things standing in this Posture unde-
 cided,

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cided, he doth strive to endear *Ursicinus* to himself, whom he would seem to have delivered from the Danger of a Trial; but withal, removes him from the Court (where all his Thoughts were placed) notwithstanding this Face of Friendship he put on, perswading the Emperor underhand against him.

C H A P. XXXI.

*The chief Arts and Ways of
Slanderers.*

WHEN any one is accused to have spoke ill of the Prince, how much the nearer these Reproaches come to Truth, by so much the easilier is the Accusation credited, as appears in the Example of *Granius Marcellus*, of whom *Tacitus*, Annal I. ' Whom
' *Cæpio Crispinus* accused to have re-
' viled *Tiberius*, which was an inevi-
' table

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‘table Accusation, for he having chosen out the greatest Blemishes of *Tiberius*’s his Life, did impose them on the Accused, which, because they were true, were believed to have been spoken.’ This Example have many Slanderers followed, reproaching many Princes of their Vices, under Pretence of informing them of other Mens Detractions; which one would think should be a sufficient Reason to persuade them from giving Ear to these Calumniators.

And *Tiberius* truly, who though he was a Lover of Informations, yet he hated his own Reproaches; and therefore, lest he should hear them in the Senate, where they were occasionally brought in by way of accusing others, retired to *Caprea*, ‘Believing (as *Tacitus* avers) that he ought to avoid the Assemblies of the Senate, lest he should be compelled to hear reproachful, but yet true Things, uttered of himself in his own Hearing.’
This

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This Way also do some take only to reprove Princes for their Vices, as they that would reprove *Nero* for his Mother's Murder, did use to inveigh against others for the like Acts in his Hearing; yet more with a Design to correct the Fault in *Cesar*, than to ruine those that they accuse. These are the choicest Ways that Slander takes; but who will undertake to trace her in all her Turnings? For Calumny is a Monster that hath a thousand Shapes, and a thousand Sleights to do Mischief with.

C H A P. XXXII.

The Deceits and Danger of Court-praises, and masqued Courtiers. Lastly, The third Way of oppressing our Courtier by Force.

From Slanders, let us come to Praises, of which also, as we have hinted before, there is great Use in undermining

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undermining others ; for many Men do by this Means palliate secret Hate, Envy, and Emulation, to the end they may deceive more easily. So *Fabius Valens*, with secret Criminations, defamed *Martius Valens*, that suspected no such thing from him ; who to betray him more securely, did always speak well of him in Publick, *Tacitus* 1. *Hist.* So *Arbetio*, with the Blandishments of a great Kindness, did assault *Urficinus*, and frequently call him in Publick, *A valiant, gallant Person*, thereby craftily to entangle in more deadly Snares, that harmless and well-meaning Man. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Lib. 15.

Alphonfus, King of Arragon, as one was praising another Man unreasonably in his Presence, beyond his wont, turning about to his Friend, said, *Without doubt this Fellow seeks the Destruction of him he praises* : Neither was the King deceived in his Opinion, for six Months after, this intemperate

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temperate Praiser, accused, before the Seat of Justice, him that he had so highly extolled; and had undone him, had not the King interposed for his Preservation.

Mucianus having in the Senate heap-
ed many Praises upon *Antonius Pri-
mus*, whom he could not openly op-
press, loads him also with secret Pro-
mises, and points him out the further
Spain, left void for him by the De-
cease of *Chuvius Rufus*, giving to his
Friends and Followers, several Com-
mands in the Army. And afterwards,
when he had filled him with Ambi-
tion and Desire, he suddenly under-
mines his Power, by taking from him
the Seventh Legion, which was ex-
ceedingly devoted to *Anthony*.

Neither is this Way traced by Cour-
tiers only, but also by Princes them-
selves, when they desire to abate or
take down any Body: For *Tiberius* did
thus confer the Prætorship upon, and
invite to his Table, *Libo* (whom he
secretly

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secretly suspected and hated) without change of Countenance, or shewing Anger in his Words, till he saw his Time (he had so concealed his Indignation) as *Tacitus* tells you, *Annal* 2. By the same Artifice you saw he overthrew *Sejanus*. *Domitian* was never more to be feared than when he smiled; the Praises of *Andronicus* were the beginning of Injuries. *Nicetas* called his Liberality, an Earnest of the Confiscation of that Man's Goods, and his Lenity a Forerunner of a certain Death.

Yet there are some that seek by their Applauses, only to stir up the Prince's Envy towards them they praise; for so *Tacitus* tells us *Julius Agricola* was ruined with *Domitian*. 'The Cause
' of his Destruction was no Crime
' nor Complaint against him, but the
' Prince's Envy to the Vertues and Glo-
' ry of the Man, stirred up by the
' worst kind of Enemies, unseasonable
' and treacherous Praisers.' There is
extant,

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extant, a Saying of the Emperor *Julian*, That there are no more dangerous Enemies in the World than masked Courtiers, whom *Mammertinus* describes in a Panegerick, saying, ' That with
' a crafty Artifice they did in all Com-
' pany slander Men by way of Praises,
' and under the Titles of Friendship.

But we see that some have used these Praises towards one, with an Intention of reproaching another whom they desired to affront, with the Dissimilitude of his Merit. *Plutarch* accuses *Herodotus* with this spiteful Kind of Dealing in his Commendations of the *Athenians*, for the brave Repulse they gave the *Persians*, which, saith he, was not intended so much for the *Athenians* Honour, as the Shame and Disgrace of the other *Greeks*. *Seneca* attests, That Kings are wont to praise their dead Servants, to make those blush that are alive : So did *Augustus* extol the faithful Services of *Mæcenæ* and *Agrippa*, when
his

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his Daughter's Lusts were discovered; he seeking thereby to reprove his Familiars and Servants, as negligent and careless of the Honour and Service of their Prince.

The same was *Augustus's* End in praising and dispraising of *Tiberius*, of whom *Tacitus* writes thus: ‘*Augustus*, when a few Years before he demanded the Tribunitial Power in the Senate for *Tiberius*, altho’ he did in his Speech touch upon many Things of his Behaviour, his Habit, and Manner of Living; which, as it were by way of Excuse, he did reproach him with, &c. Therefore these Things ought to warn us to look as well into the Intention of those that praise us, as of those that calumniate us.

These two first Ways of undermining our Courtier, to wit, Of removing him out of the Way, under some fair Pretence; or of making him hated or suspected by the Prince, being sufficiently

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ficiently discoursed of, there remains only untouched, the third and last Way of all, Open Violence ; which principally takes Place, when either the People or the Soldiery, offended with the Dignity or Manner of the Favourite, run into a publick Sedition. The Tumults of the *Parisians*, when the People raged at the Captivity of their King *John* with the *English*, are sufficiently known, as also the Fortune of those, upon that Sedition, who bore the principal Offices under his Son, then supplying his Father's Place in the Government.

But few Years since, the Janizaries, more than once, have by Sedition deprived the *Turkish* Emperors of their Ministers of greatest Trust and Authority : Out of more ancient Stories, the Time of *Arcadius* will furnish us with some Examples ; *Ruffinus* was, amongst others, principally beloved by this Emperor, with whom *Stilico* being offended, and determining his Destruction,

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ction, sent *Gainas* with his Forces, as it were, to assist the Emperor, but indeed to deprive him of *Ruffinus*, as it came to pass: For *Ruffinus* going to the Army, the Soldiers of *Gainas*, upon the Signal given, ran together, and compassing *Ruffinus* in, tore him in Pieces.

Eutropius being then put in *Ruffinus*'s Place, when the chief Courtiers likewise grew discontented with him, by the Contrivance of the same *Gainas*, *Tribigildus* raises a Rebellion, over-running and spoiling all *Asia*, and denies to accept any Conditions of a Peace, till *Eutropius* were removed out of the Way; which by the Perswasion of *Gainas*, the Emperor consented at last unto: Neither was this enough, for *Gainas* being afterward openly joined with *Tribigildus*, to the end he might suffer himself to be reconciled to *Arcadius* the Emperor, demanded, That *Aurelius Saturnius*, and *John Chrysostome*, then the chief Moderators

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derators of the Emperor's Affairs, should be given up to him; which being done, he sent them into Banishment, contenting himself with giving them (before their Departure out of his Presence) the Edge of his Sword for to handle, that they might feel how sharp it was.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Sometimes the Prince's own ill and cruel Nature, envying the Deserts of his Servants, is Cause of the Courtier's Fall; and this, how it is to be handled.

Oftentimes, altho' our Courtiers underprop themselves with all other Supports, yet the Nature of the Prince, as being either over-light, vain,

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vain, jealous, envious, covetous, cruel, or timorous, makes their Ruine inevitable. These Diseases, as being incorporated into them, do for the most part elude and overthrow the Circumspection of the prudentest Men. *Seneca*, whose Authority had with *Nero* far more of Liberty than Flattery, in the Beginning, being wise and skilful in the Arts of Court, was fain to yield at last, as quite overcome by the Malice of the Prince's Nature: First, he was envied by him for his Eloquence, than for his Riches; and lastly, being oppress'd with malicious Slanders, he lost both the Prince's Favour, and his Life.

The Jealousie and Envy of Princes hath been so formidable to some, that they had rather be lessened to their Loss, than incur their Envy by doing their Business prosperously and well. *Publius Ventidius*, fearing the Envy of *Mark Anthony*, under whom he served, contented himself to have beaten the
Parthians

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Parthians by three Victories into *Media*, and would not prosecute his good Fortune any farther. *Agathias* tells us, that during the Reign of *Justinian*, the same was done by *Belisarius*, least the Greatness of his Victories, and the Accclamations of the People, should stir up the Hate of the Peers, and Envy of the Prince against him.

Truly, such as these do not mind their own Honour, and the Profit of the Prince, as they ought to do; but the Fault is not so much in them as in the Prince himself: And therefore it was, that *Mecenas* perswaded *Augustus*, ‘ Not to impute his ill Successes
‘ to his Ministers, nor envy their prosperous Actions: For (*sait he*)
‘ many of them that manage publick
‘ Affairs, have done it very negligently,
‘ for fear of Envy, chusing rather
‘ to hazard their Glory than their
‘ Safety.’ Yet I do much more approve their Way, who to avoid Envy, whatever great and fortunate Actions
N they

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they did, would needs ascribe the Glory of it to the Prince, tho' absent. *Agrippa*, *Augustus's* Son-in-Law, persuades us to undertake great Adventures; but having performed them, to attribute the Glory of them to the Prince, as he himself was always wont to do.

So *Joab* besieging *Rabatham*, tho' he could, refused to take it in, before *David* himself came thither. *Crateus*, when the Business of *Artacena* was to be determined, waits for *Alexander's* coming. ' *Julius Agricola* (as *Tacitus* writes) never did boastingly apply his Acts to his own Glory, but ' cast all upon Fortune, as the Author ' and Guide of all he did, who was ' but her Servant.

This Envy and Emulation, tho' they are Diseases incident to the most generous Princes (such as *Philip* and *Alexander* were) yet they are more predominant and malignant in some than others. *Theodosius*, the second Emperor

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ror of that Name, committed the Charge of building a Wall at *Constantinople* from Sea to Sea, unto *Cyrus*, which Work he effecting in Three-score Day; this great Dispatch was so grateful to the People, that they cried out in the Streets, That *Constantine* built the City, and *Cyrus* had restored it; which being heard by the Emperor, brought so great an Envy upon *Cyrus*, that he could not expiate it any other way, but by putting on a religious Habit.

He that hath to do with such Princes, is to consider, that he walks upon Ashes, under which Fire lies concealed; and therefore must he still examine their Inclinations with great Diligence, to the end he may either defend himself against them; or, if it fall out that he cannot, that he may have this Satisfaction of Mind at least, that he hath done his Duty, and all that in Prudence he ought.

C H A P. XXXIV.

*How to preserve our Favour
and Office with the succeeding
Prince.*

HE is deservedly to be remembered amongst the Darlings of Fortune, whose Authority and Interest being great with one Prince, continues so with his Successor. It is truly a thing very rare in Courts, because he that is to succeed, is for the most part suspected by the present Prince; and therefore, they who manage his Affairs, are necessitated to be adverse unto the Heir Apparent; from whence, commonly, deadly Enmities arise, Besides this also, the succeeding Prince hath, for the most part, Servants known and endeared unto him, by a long Fidelity, and many Services,
for

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for whose Advancement to Dignity, that he may make way, he will ordinarily, either of his own Accord, or by the Perswasion of those that desire to succeed, lay aside the Servants of the deceased Prince.

Yet there are some, whom either the State of Affairs, for which they are more able and apt than others, or some other dexterous Quality, and taking Humour, doth so insinuate them into the succeeding Prince, that one Prince dying, they lose nothing thereby but his Person. *Macro*, that he might obtain *Caligula's* Favour, sets his own Wife *Ennia* upon him, to inveigle him with Love, and bind him in a Marriage. The same Marr commanded *Tiberius* to be smothered with Cloths as he was sick and dying, as *Tacitus* affirms. *Julian* the Emperor retained *Arbetio* still, because he thought him useful, altho' he hated him for his Pride and turbulent Disposition. And *Valentinian*, af-

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ter him, called the same Man unto him to oppose against *Procopius*.

We have hitherto handled only such Things as our Courtier, who will enjoy the Prince's Favour, ought to avoid : But the Sum of all Counsels that can here be given to him, is, A Modesty towards the Prince, such as becomes a Man more mindful of his Duty than of his swelling Fortune : let him never boast, nor do anything irreverently; and, as much as possibly he can, let him avoid Envy, which hath been so dreadful to many, and those great Men, that some of them with pretending a Love of Ease, others embracing a Retirement to Study, have showed themselves averse to publick Affairs. Examples in both which Cases, the Historians give us in *Domitian* and *Galba*. He must take heed he pass not over carelessly, either those treacherous Kind of Praises we spoke of before, nor the Slanders that are cast upon him : They that calumniate us, do say,
That

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That either we are wanting in something that is necessary to serve the Prince well ; or else, That we have said or done something, either really or intentionally, to the Prejudice of him or his Service. As to the Defects imputed unto us, we must either modestly excuse and justifie our selves, or else amend them ; or, lastly, endeavour with some other Vertues, to recompence those Wants. Our Words and Actions ought to be so moderated and weighed, that they may not be obnoxious to ill Interpretations : We ought always to endeavour to search into other Mens Opinions and Inclinations, before we discover our own ; and if either by Chance or Negligence, any thing slip from us, which may possibly offend, we must, when we reflect upon it, by some respective Means, or by some kind of occasional Interpretation, amongst other Discourse, let them see what we spoke,

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was not with an Intention of offending any Body.

If we shall once discover that we are calumniated by any one, we ought, as little as may be, to be absent from the Prince to whom we are slandered; for besides that, Love abates towards those that are absent, Detraction also in time takes root, if it be not seasonably contradicted with Truth; for a Jealousie being once put into the Prince's Head, in Time, thro' the many Suggestions of the Accuser, there being no Body to gainsay, takes such footing at last, that oftentimes the Prince hates the Person accused, before he examines the Crime.

He therefore that will provide for his Safety, must make himself at Court, one Friend or more, to defend him in his Absence, against the dangerous Assaults of Calumny: But withal, he must take care they be Persons of Condition and Honour, or at least, Men
of

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of Interest, and such as have Access to the Prince's Ear, as readily as our Enemies. I confess, the Store of such Friends in Court, is but very small, where it is the usual Custom, almost amongst all, if not to persecute their Companions themselves, at least to suffer them to be oppressed by others. But yet it happens sometimes, that there is one, that either out of Gratitude for Benefits received, or with a Desire of obliging us, or else out of Hatred towards our Accusers, will perform that Office.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXV.

Ostentation of the Prince's Favour to be avoided: Something also concerning our Friends and Followers.

LET our Courtier avoid all Ostentation of the Prince's Favour, not only to avoid the Envy of the rest of his Companions, but also of the Prince himself: For lately, when the Grandees of *Spain* went about to supplant Cardinal *Spinosa*, under *Philip II.* see with what a Wile they circumvented him. They all struck Sail to him; they all seemed to acknowledge, that their Fortunes depended upon his Favour; the very Domestick Servants of the King shewed themselves very obedient and ready at his Beck: Which when the Prince observed, he was removed

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moved from Court, and all that Power and Greatness which he had acquired, in less than two Years fell to nothing.

Let therefore our Courtier learn to be contented with a modest Train of Attendants, and with a Rate of living rather beneath the Dignity wherewith he is honoured by the Prince, than above it, which he must be sure never to exceed. It is unseasonable to lessen your Attendants, when your Fortune is declining. It availed *Seneca* nothing, after he had lost *Nero's* Favour, to hide himself in his private House, and betake himself to his Studies, nor to shut out Visitants with his Pretence of want of Health. Neither did it advantage *Agricola* a whit, to have entered the City by Night, and with a slender Company of Followers: Wherefore it is necessary, that we put on a Face of Modesty betimes, and hold on so.

Yet, altho' I would not have our Courtier be besieged with too great a Throng.

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Throng of Friends and Servants, I would not have him neglect to make many Creatures and Followers ; not to serve him in his Pomp, but to support and comfort him, if any Adversity should happen: for altho' an adverse Fortune finds few of these prove Friends, yet there are, for the most part, some among them, who will endeavour to shelter and assist you ; if not out of Friendship, yet out of Respect to their own Advantage, which they may well expect from the Restauration of your Fortune.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXVI.

*How to manage and dispence the
Prince's Favour; Advices, and
Comforts in Adversity, with
other Rules.*

BUT as it is a great Content and Help in Adversity, to have communicated your Prosperity freely and generously to many, in using the Favour of the Prince to their Assistance and Advantage; so our Courtier is to be warned, That he warily and industriously dispence these Benefits; for it is certain, that whatsoever the Prince shall at our Intreaty do for any Man, a great part of it is by him imputed, as done to us. Wherefore, unless the Prince's Favour towards us be very large, we must not be too prodigal of sharing it amongst others: And very seldom

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seldom must we introduce or commend any unto the Prince, who are not, in some measure, known unto him as well as to our selves, whose Deserts we ought first carefully to look into, observing that Saying of *Horace*,

*Till thou art certain what his Vertues be,
In no Man's Praises be thou over free;
Least he transgress, and purchase Shame
to thee.*

Moreover, let those Favours also, which you demand for any Body from the Prince, be fit for the Person, and suitable to the Times, consistent also with the Dignity and Emolument of the Prince; and lastly, such as you know have been formerly obtained by others. If the Prince grants it, we must let him see we take it as a great Favour done unto our selves; if he refuse, we must take heed that he do not perceive we are offended.

That

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That is also to be observed here, which we have touched upon before, that we must never vainly make Show of the Prince's Favour, nor give it out, that he is governed by us; for we have told you before, how ill that succeeded with some. Princes, whatsoever they do, desire to be thought to do it of themselves, without the Help and Authority of any others, especially their Subjects.

If the Prince shall lay any weighty Command upon us, we must endeavour to have it in Writing, and as clearly interpreted unto us as is possible: We must not omit to represent unto him, such Difficulties before we undertake the Business, as we apprehend will occur unto us in the Execution. If it be a thing committed to us in Secrefie, and unfit to be written, we are to repeat the Commands over and over (yet without Absurdity) in the Prince's Presence, to the end we may better understand the Intention of him that
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gives them, and also that he may not forget what Orders he gave us.

We must also show our selves ready for the meanest Employments the Prince will cast upon us; for many times a small Matter is the Occasion of a great Fortune; and Princes would have their Commands to be weighed, not by the Importance of the Affair, but by the Greatness and Dignity of him the Giver; being no less incensed at our Refusal of slight Enterprizes, than our declining of great and hazardous Undertakings, when imposed by him upon us. When we are attending upon the Prince, we ought to watch diligently, that we be not surpris'd nor overwhelmed with sudden Commands; and to that end, always, as much as may be, we ought to ruminate beforehand all Things then afoot, and to prepare our Mind and Understanding for whatever may come in Agitation. We must likewise take heed that we importune not the Prince with unreasonable

nor

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nor impertinent Discourses, but only with what we both know to be certain, and judge to be fit for him to hear. When the Prince speaks, we must appear attentive, not as if we thought of something else; nor sad, nor musing, least we should seem either to slight or dislike what he says.

If any one disgusted, or injured by the Prince, shall come and make his Complaint to us, we must let him see we are sorry for his Misfortune, persuading him to Patience and Silence, and encouraging him to hope well, lessening the Injury, and excusing the Prince. But with such as these we must deal warily, for there are those that counterfeit Wrongs and Discontents, to see if they can draw any Testimony of an Ill-will to the Prince out of us, that thence they may take an Occasion to undo us: Others are injured indeed, but yet are weak and imprudent, not being able to conceal what is out of Friendship communicated to them in Secret. If

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If our Condition be such, that we keep a Train of Servants, we are to take great Care that none of them speak licentiously, either of the Prince or his Favourites; for many times the Servant's Fault is cast upon the Master, from whom his Words and Actions are often thought to proceed. Amongst the principal Rules of a Courtier's Prudence, this is one, to discover and smell out betimes, the Change and Diminution of the Prince's Affection towards us, to the end that the Knot of Love between you may rather be gently untied than cut in sunder: For so many times the Cause of our Dislike being removed or worn away, there is sometimes an easie Return for us unto our former Favour, especially, if we seem, either not to remember, or not to have understood the Injury.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXVII.

*How to make a Judgment of the
Constancy or Change of the
Prince's Affection to us.*

TO the end our Courtier may judge of the Constancy of the Prince's Favour towards him, 'tis not enough that he know the Prince's Humour, with the Authority and Power both of his Friends and Enemies in Court; but he must principally weigh the original Cause of the Prince's Love towards him: For, if that once cease, or be found more prevalent in another, without doubt the Affection of the Prince will either wholly cool, or at least be much diminished.

Yet sometimes it is hard to divine what is the Reason, that you are so beloved; and truly, it is sometimes

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times only a fortunate Felicity, for which no Reason can be given, tho' ordinarily the Prince's Love arises, either out of Similitude of Disposition, out of the Pleasingness of your Humour and Manners, out of your Services done him, or from your Vertue; or lastly, from your obsequious Pliableness to his Will: That Love which comes from the Similitude or Takingness of your Manners, altho' it seem very great for a Time, yet it wears out soonest of all, both, because as we have said before, the Nature of Man changes daily with Age, or with Variety of Business; and also, because it is hard to find two Dispositions so sympathizing together, as that they differ in nothing; and many times that wherein they differ, is of more Power to divide them, than all the rest to unite them together.

Yet I know not what Star doth fortune and temper some Men still to the Prince's Liking and Disposition, that they

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they can hardly, if they would, do any dissonant or displeasing Thing to him: And I do confess, that these Men may make the best Harvest with a Prince of all others; especially, if they know skilfully how to chuse and use their Times, and how to take in their Sails seasonably before a Storm.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

*The Prince's Favour to Women:
Instructions for the Prince's
Mistresses; Benefits conferred
on Princes, often make those
Persons hated by them; with
other Documents.*

Princes do sometimes also bestow this Favour on Women, according as they are more or less prone to Venereal Pleasures; but they also do frequently

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frequently fall from Favour, if not by their own Faults, yet from the Prince's Satiety, or finding out a fairer Mistress. Wherefore, such Women as are crafty, are wont to divert Princes, as much as may be, from all Commerce with other Women, especially such as may be likely to entangle the Prince's Mind; some also, by counterfeiting Disdain, and keeping State, have preserved their Lover; and lastly, some more audacious and bold, when they saw the Prince once truly love them, have kept him still drunk in Lust, and drowned in Pleasure.

Which Arts *Poppæa* practised upon *Nero*: ' For when she saw that he
' was enamoured of her, becoming
' proud, if she entertained him a Night
' or two, it was all she could afford
' him, saying, She was a married Wife,
' and could not abandon her Husband
' *Otho*, who for his Parts and Behaviour exceeded *Nero*; that in using
' a Bondslave for his Concubine, had
' learned

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‘ learned nothing from that servile
‘ Familiarity, but Baseness and Nigardice.’ Thus *Tacitus* reports her Discourses, *Annal* 13. and soon after, *Annal* 14. the same *Poppæa*, ‘ despairing
‘ now of marrying *Nero*, or of seeing him divorced from *Octavia*, as
‘ long as *Agrippina* lived, sometimes tauntingly, and sometimes merrily,
‘ began to reproach the Prince, calling him a Ward, and subject to others
‘ Controulment; and said, He was so far from the Government of the
‘ Empire, that he wanted his own Liberty.’ Some Princes Mistresses have, by this means, held their Affections faster, than by the Dallyings and Blandishments of Pleasure; yet, as I said before, there is no Constancy in this kind of Affection to be relied upon long.

Truly one would think that Love, which you have gained by your Services, should be stable and more firm than what comes from Flattery or Pleasure,

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Pleasure, as arising out of an honest Cause; and which being cherished in you, is apt to stir up others to Merit, as well by vertuous Undertakings. Yet Experience often teaches us, that very great Services have in Courts been the Ruine of those that have performed them; by Reason that Princes are wont to hate whom they cannot requite. They will not be indebted to a Subject, and therefore do fly the Sight of those that have exceeding well deserved of them, as if they did with their Looks reproach them of Ingratitude; which is the Reason why the Condition of such Men in Courts, is much to be pitied; for when they have obliged the Prince by any Service, they are ashamed by and by, to ask a Reward, least they should seem not to have given, but sold the Benefit they did him; which in the meantime, as Princes are often regardless of the Service received, and slow to reward, draws out, Day after Day, till the
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the Memory of the Benefit wears out in the Minds of those that were privy to it, whose silent Reproaches he feared before.

Which some Men observing, have judged it fit to strike the Iron whilst it was hot; and when they were designed for any Business, to look to their Reward before they undertook the Employment, knowing well that with Princes the hope of future Services is more prevalent to induce Reward, than the Memory of those that are past; and that it is better to be obliged to Princes, than to have them obliged to us; because they believe, whoever they have obliged do with well to them, whilst he that they are indebted unto, because he is believed not to love the Prince that hath denied him what he pretended unto, is recompensed only with Hate. This, *Commines* tells us, was *Lewis* the Eleventh his Opinion.

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The Love of Princes towards the Ministers of their Pleasure, would seem to be stable; and truly, it is of some Continuance, as long as the Inclinations of the Prince to Pleasure continue; but those changing, the Affections to those that fed them change also. Sometimes likewise, the Prince inclining to the love of Vertue, doth reject and abominate those that are Instruments of his Pleasures. But as some of the Inclinations of Princes are more durable than others, so also is their Favour (as I said) of a proportioned continuance towards the Servants of those several Inclinations.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

*Sundry Precepts concerning the
Pleasures and Inclinations of
the Prince, &c.*

I Will not touch here upon all Pleasures whereunto the Nature of the Prince is prone, because all of them are not fit or apt to have the Greatness of any Man's Fortune built upon 'em. Those Passions that are of greatest Sway in Princes Minds, and familiar unto them, are three; to wit, *Wanton Love, Cruelty, and Avarice*: The first, as it is more vehement than all the rest, so it is more uncertain and inconstant; for tho' the Vice still remains as to the Subject, yet it keeps not fixed still upon the same Object: Nevertheless, many have used this as a Foundation, whereupon to build their Fortunes,

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tunes, not sticking to prostitute their Wives, so they might gain the Favour of the Prince; as we read in *Tacitus*, that *Otho* did, altho' it fell not out well with him; for *Nero* removed him from Court, least he should have a Rival there.

Others, that they might bind their Princes unto them, made themselves Witneses and Companions of their Wickedness and Lusts, by the Example of *Tigellinus*. These Men do not think that Princes have a Trick to free themselves of publick Blame and Envy, to sacrifice oftentimes such kind of Men unto it. And all those Servants of their Lusts are to expect the same Fortune as happened to *Remirus de Orco*, the Minister of *Cesar Borgia's* Cruelties, whom at last *Borgia* caused to be murthered, as guilty of all the Ill that he had done.

And from the Example of this *Remirus*, we may also read their Destiny who serve the Prince in his Cruelties;
for

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for the Prince's Affection seldom endures towards them, both because he doth, as it were, daily read his Wickedness in seeing them; and also is afraid of them whom he knows so apt to Villainy. *Nero*, although hardned in Vice, and of a cruel Nature, yet after his Mother's Death hated *Anicetus*, as one whose Face daily reproached him with his Mother's Murther.

The Affections of Avarice are least of all changeable; the Diversity of the Object doth not vary in these, as in those of Love; it is not diminished, but encreases with Age; and although it is as hateful to the People as Cruelty, yet it is longer endured, because it covers and cloaks all Exactions, under the Pretence of publick Necessity, Parsimony, and the common Good. Therefore, those that upon this Score serve Princes, may long preserve themselves in their Favour, whilst (which is rare in these kind of Men) they do

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not become froward and peevish, nor too much intend enriching themselves.

Frowardness, which for the most part is likewise contumelious, begets Hatred both to the Prince, and to it self; the Author of which the Prince will at last cast away, to remove the Envy of it from himself.

Riches are also obnoxious to Envy, not of the People only, but sometimes of the Prince himself, who if he be truly avaritious, will hardly be content till he have squeezed the full Sponge; as we read that *Vespasian* was wont to do, but will rather imitate the Country Clowns, who when they have fatned their Hogs, do kill and devour them. Truly, *France* hath seen many such, who being proud and peevish, and who making too much haste to be rich, have thereby, and by their Insolence, from a great Height of Fortune, fallen to nothing.

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In the Time of *Philip le Belle*, *Peter Berchias*, High Chamberlain and Treasurer of *France*, was strangled at *Paris*; *Lewis*, *Philip's* Son, afterwards coming to the Crown, *Enguerrandus Marigny* met with the same Misfortune: Under *Charles* the Seventh, *Gyacensis*, in Dignity equal to *Berchias*, was brought to the Bar, and afterwards fowed in a Sack and drowned; his Successor *Camus Beaulieu* was killed at *Poitiers*; and the same End had come under *Philip I.* to *Peter Effart*, if with an Hundred thousand *Florins* he had not redeemed his Life.

I could recount more nearer us, but that I am willing to spare their Memory. In the mean time, these Examples are sufficient to instruct, that as the too great Easiness of these Ministers brings too great a Detriment upon the Prince's Profit, so their insolent Griping and Frowardness, draws Hate and Destruction upon themselves: And that as we ought not to refuse a

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just Occasion of enriching our selves, so we must not show our selves too greedy after Riches, nor amass so much together, as may expose us to the publick Envy.

C H A P. XL.

Concluding with many choice and necessary Admonitions.

THere remains only now unhandled the last Cause, why Courtiers are beloved by their Princes; to wit, An Aptness and singular Ability to dispatch and manage their Affairs; for which Reason, when we see that we are become acceptable to the Prince, we must consider, whether he love this Aptness for Business, because of the Usefulness and Necessity of it; or else, because the Prince desires to acquire from us that Aptitude to himself.

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If it be grateful, because it is necessary, his Favour to us will endure as long as the Necessity remains; but his Love will rather be a forced than voluntary Love.

If we see the Prince aspire to the Glory of this Aptitude for Business, there is no doubt, but when he sees that he cannot either equal or excel us, we shall become an Eye-sore, and unacceptable to him; for there is in Princes an innate Desire, as well as in all other Men, of excelling all Persons in those Arts they addict themselves unto; and therefore no Man, almost, is pleased to be excelled in them by his own Servant. *Asinius Pollio*, some exhorting him to make a Reply to those Verses *Augustus Caesar* had made against him, answered, ' That he would not, ' by contending to seem the better, ' Scribe, draw his Envy upon him, ' that had Power to proscribe him.' There arising a Dispute once between *Favorinus* the Philosopher, and the

O 5 Emperor

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Emperor *Adrian*, about some Word, wherein the Philosopher at last seemed to yield; his Friends wondring at it, he said, ' I am not ashamed to be overcome in Knowledge by him that commands thirty Legions.

To this Purpose, that Saying of *Solomon* is very notorious, *Do not seem wise before the King*. It is necessary therefore, that whosoever desires to purchase a Prince's Favour, must set aside the Desire of his own Glory, and not only in verbal Disputes, but in every thing else, yield him the Day: And to that end, it will not be amiss, on purpose to commit some Errors and Oversights; so that they be not too gross, nor like to take too much from our Repute.

Out of our Discourse hitherto, it is evident how little Certainty is in all the Greatness and Favour at Court; wherefore, the best Counsel that can be given to all Courtiers, is, to prepare themselves for their Fall; for altho' it
is

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is thought a more generous Thing to fight than to fly, when you are once entered these Lifts; yet if you are to do it with greater Hazard of Danger, than Hope of Success, it is not indiscreet to found a Retreat betimes, and, in Imitation of the *Parthians*, to fight flying.

As it is also a more glorious Thing to descend gently by Steps, and as it were, to go out at the Door, than to be cast Headlong out at the Window; so it is less shameful, under Colour of some specious and contrived Pretences, to bid adieu to your Honours and Offices, than to expect to be stript disgracefully of them: And hereunto may be fitly applied the Saying of an ancient *Roman*.

*Why dost thou weary tired Fortune so?
Depart the Court before thou art forc'd
to go.*

Seneca

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Seneca says, It is Happiness to die in the midst of your Felicity ; but I, on the other Side, think that Courtier happy, who in the midst of his prosperous Race makes a Retreat. Perhaps, he that shall do so, shall not be applauded by all, but by some that look upon the Outfides of Things, be judged unworthy of the Fortune that he hath so abandoned. Yet he that is wise, not regarding such idle Discourses, will provide for his own Safety, and remember, that in all Games, it is better to give over a Winner than a Loser; as also, that no prudent Man will exchange or adventure certain Things, for Things so very uncertain.

Tho' our Ascent to these Heights of Fortune and Dignities, is, as it were, by Steps in Order, yet our Descents, if not timely foreseen, are for the most part headlong and sudden : So that those that are flourishing in Favour and Authority, if they chance once to slip
or

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or stumble, their Falls are commonly desperate and fatal.

Behold here the Compendium of all that I desired to say for our Courtier's Instruction: Whether these Precepts be pertinent and select or no, I will not determine, but leave that to the Judgment and Experience of my Friends. For my own part, I confess, I have at present no great Use of them, and am so far from being transported with Sadness, at my private and retired Condition, that I do heartily say with *Seneca*,

*Let him that will, ascend the tottering Seat
Of Courtly Grandeur, and become as great,
As are his mounting Wishes; as for me,
Let sweet Repose and Rest my Portion be.
Give me some mean, obscure Recess, a Sphere,
Out of the Road of Business, or the fear
Of falling lower, where I sweetly may
My Self and dear Retirement still enjoy.
Let not my Life or Name, be known unto
The Grandees of the Times, tost to and fro
By Censures or Applause; but let my Age
Slide gently by, not overthwart the Stage*

Of

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*Of publick Action; unheard, unseen,
And unconcern'd, as if I ne'er had been.
And thus, while I shall pass my silent Days
In shady Privacy, free from the Noise
And Bustles of the World, then shall I,
A good old innocent Plebeian die.
Death is a meer Surprize, a very Snare
To him that makes it his Life's greatest Care,
To be a publick Pageant, known to all,
But unacquainted with Himself, doth fall.*

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FINIS.
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ERRATA.

PAge 12. line 3. for *mean* read *means*. p. 26.
l. 24. for *arise* r. *arise*. p. 41. l. 9. for *emo-*
veret r. *groomeret*. p. 98. l. 24. for *astain* r. *abstain*.
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